Sponsoring Committee: Professor Abraham I. Katsh
Professor David Rudavsky, and
Professor H. Harry Giles

THE ROLE OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN OLD TESTAMENT INTERPRETATION AS REFLECTED IN AMERICAN SCHOLARLY PERIODICAL LITERATURE

1940 - 1965

ESLIE
GEORGE L. KELM

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy in the School of Education of
New York University

1968

THESIS ACCEPTED
JUL 29 1968

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George L. Kelm July 5, 1968.

Sponsoring Committee: Professor Abraham I. Katsh
Professor David Rudavsky, and
Professor H. Harry Giles.

An Abstract of

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ABSTRACT

This study shows the relationship of archaeological data to biblical studies and the manner in which the expanding wealth of archaeological materials were used in biblical interpretation, and how changes within that role have been reflected in scholarly periodical literature during the period from 1940 to 1965. The study included a comprehensive examination of relevant data appearing in the twelve major scholarly archaeological and biblical journals throughout the period and selected articles from twenty-two periodicals representing educational institutions and major denominational groups. Over three hundred articles on the descriptive and interpretative use of archaeological data in the discussion of Old Testament events, institutions and concepts were the primary sources of the study.

The presentation included background study of the development of archaeological interest and excavation in Palestine, a detailed study of archaeological activity in Palestine, later Israel and Jordan, during the twenty-five year period (1940-1965), and a survey of present understanding of the cultural development in Palestine. This main study included discussion on "Controversy and Change in Old Testament Studies" and the specific role of archaeology in the study of the Patriarchal Period, the Exodus and Conquest, and the Israelite Settlement and Consolidation to the end of the United Kingdom (Solomon).

Though the Albright School and other scholars who have used archaeological data extensively have demonstrated its illustrative potential and its importance in the general clarification of the Near Eastern cultural and social milieu, the establishment of relative chronologies, the general historicity of the patriarchal narratives and the patriarchs as persons, and the antiquity of Hebrew poetic forms, other scholars have not been equally committed to its use.

The investigation has shown that while archaeological studies have claimed a new emphasis in the scientific approach to biblical history, one of the deepest continuing divisions in biblical scholarship concerns the comparative value which should be placed on external, especially archaeological, data, and on the internal data, or types of literary study of Israel's traditions, preserved in the Old Testament. The study has shown that the archaeological recovery of the proto-types of the ideas, institutions, and movements displayed in the biblical records has required the re-evaluation and more cautious approach to the techniques of documentary analysis. This change in the basic literary approach to biblical studies resulted in a wide diversity of approaches and emphases in interpretation. The study concludes that within this diversity of emphasis there is a direct correlation between an acceptance of the premise of the general historicity of biblical narratives and the use of archaeological evidences.

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PREFACE

THE PROBLEM AND METHOD

1. The Problem

Statement of the Problem

As archaeology generally has been one of the research arms of the historian, so Biblical archaeology has become a tremendous aid in fitting knowledge of Biblical literature precisely within the context of its time, its geography, its historical and cultural setting. Professor G. Ernest Wright of Harvard has stated that Biblical archaeology has revolutionized Biblical teaching. It is Professor Wright's contention that theology and history are inseparable, and that what is understood as the basic content of the Bible cannot be properly stated by the mode of classical theology, but is to be found in the reconstruction of historical events. To put it in his own words:

> "...unless history is taken seriously one cannot comprehend biblical faith which triumphantly affirms the meaning of history. The biblical student must be a student of ancient life, and archaeology is his aid in recovering the nature of a period long past."[1]

Thus in theology there has been a return to the historical sources, and the Old Testament in particular has become a fresh and exciting literature. The late Professor H. Richard Niebuhr, during his survey of American theological education viewed this new interest in the Old Testament as one of the extraordinary characteristics of theological education.[2] According to Professor Wright, much of the credit for this renewed interest must go to archaeology.

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[1] G. Ernest Wright, Biblical Archaeology. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962, p. 17.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis was the dominant critical opinion in Old Testament scholarship. However, the philosophical rationale of this hypothesis, melioristic evolution, was broken down by two world wars and countless other atrocities, and ceased to be sufficient explanation of human history, and thus of Israel's history. Together with a reaction to the many extremes to which documentary analysis was sometimes carried, more positively, the almost unlimited access to knowledge regarding the ancient Biblical world, and Israel especially, now being made available through archaeology, required such a drastic revision of the critical theories as to virtually necessitate their abandonment.[3]

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[2] G. Ernest Wright. "Archaeology, History, and Theology," Harvard Divinity Bulletin. Vol. 28, April, 1964. p. 88.

[3] John Bright. "Modern Study of Old Testament Literature" in G. Ernest Wright, ed., The Bible and the Ancient Near East. New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1965, p. 5.

The application of the results of archaeological research to Biblical studies has resulted in significant changes. Examples of these changes are the various attitudes toward the Law and the Prophets as demonstrated by contrasting the older liberal critical evaluations with the views of more recent researchers.

1) The Law

Within the older critical system, the Law was dated (according to the documents) to the ninth to fifth centuries, which corresponds closely to the prophetic period in history. However, more recently the date of the documents and the laws contained in them have been pushed back to a much earlier period. Professor William F. Albright expresses the more recent view:

> "In the Torah we have, carefully collected and arranged, a considerable body of civil and cultic legislation... They have been preserved for us in documents of different ages -- all relatively early. Yet there is a basic similarity about their cultural and religious background which makes it impossible not to attribute their origin to the beginnings of organized Israelite monotheism -- in other words, to Moses."[4]

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[4] William F. Albright. The Biblical Period from Abraham to Ezra. New York: Harper and Row, 1963, p. 18.

2) The Prophets

The older critical view held that the prophets were revolutionaries, innovators of a new spiritualized religion within Israel. This view is reflected by T.J. Meek:

> "There is no question but what the prophets thought and professed that they were reviving the old religion, but it was only their idealized reconstruction of that religion."[5]

However, Professor Albright, in From the Stone Age to Christianity, argues that the religion of the prophets goes back to Moses so that they were in a real sense, not innovators, but renovators. Thus, while the history of Israel formerly was reconstructed so that the prophets became the founders of the Pentateuchal legal system, their Biblically described function of calling the people back to the old "paths" is shown to be their proper work.

These two examples may serve to illustrate the manner in which archaeology has brought about a change in Old Testament study. The chief reason for the change is that the Old Testament scholar can no longer concentrate solely upon the literature of the Bible which he may interpret according to a personal philosophy but must also acquaint himself with the total background of the Bible. Professor Albright affirms his belief in the primacy of archaeology in our understanding of the

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[5] T.J. Meek. Hebrew Origins. New York: Harper and Row, 1960. p. 220.

Bible.[6] He insists that this primacy includes the interpretation of written documents recovered by archaeologists as well as the excavation and reconstruction of material culture. Writing in December of 1956, Professor Albright points out that the great progress in archaeological work since the end of World War II has revolutionized our knowledge of the text of the Old Testament, and that, without altering his general view of the growth of the social and political institutions of Israel, on the basis of this evidence, he has grown more conservative in his attitude to Mosaic tradition.

The question then arises whether other scholars, interacting with the archaeological data during the last twenty-five years, are responding in a similar way. In the broad area of Biblical studies, is archaeology making a contribution to the interpretation of the scholar with a theological orientation as well as to the view of the more archaeologically oriented scholar? If it is true, as Professor Albright has suggested, that many scholars are unaware of the revolutionary progress in archaeology, and that "...their error is now handicapping the progress of Old Testament research by perpetuating innumerable hypotheses and assumptions which cannot stand for a minute in the light of contemporary archaeology,"[7] this fact needs to be highlighted.

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[6] William F. Albright. "The Old Testament and the Archaeology of Palestine" in H.H. Rowley, The Old Testament and Modern Study. London: Oxford University Press, 1951. p. 2.

> "These studies are too engrossing and their ultimate significance for history and religion too great to permit them to be wholly neglected in free countries, no matter how depressed may be the state of the humanities in general. No one who believes in the eternal mission of the Bible to the human spirit can fail to recognize the fundamental importance of our research for the future of mankind."[8]

Definition of Terms

"Biblical archaeology" has been defined as archaeological excavation and survey of sites and areas remotely or directly related to the Old Testament history, religion and culture. References to Palestine will suggest that area occupied by the biblical Hebrews and basically conforming to the areas within the boundaries of the modern states of Israel and Jordan. "Old Testament Interpretation" refers to that area of endeavor intent on the clarification of the Old Testament's setting and significance. "American Scholarly Periodical Literature" is intended to mean quarterlies and journals devoted wholly, or in part, to footnoted studies of Old Testament history, religion, and culture by biblical scholars in the United States.

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[7] William F. Albright. "The Old Testament and the Archaeology of Palestine" in H.H. Rowley. The Old Testament and Modern Study. London: Oxford University Press, 1951, p. 2.

[8] *Ibid*., p. 47

Delimitations

It was not until 1939 that Professor Albright, the distinguished former chairman of the Oriental Seminary at Johns Hopkins University, archaeologist and one of the world's recognized foremost scholars of the Ancient Near East, particularly of the civilization of the Bible Lands, began the preparation of "real" syntheses of Ancient Near Eastern history and civilization. According to Professor Albright, the correct dating of events and cultural phenomena in the lands of the Near East in relation to one another had only then been made possible because of the rapid increase of knowledge of archaeological chronology during the preceding decade.

Professor Albright's observations suggested the main reasons this study was delimited to the period from 1940 to 1965. Firstly, since 1940 there has been an unprecedented rise of general interest in the philosophy of history, as well as in anthropological and historical method. Secondly, since the end of World War II, there have been unexpected discoveries and general progress in archaeological work which revolutionized our knowledge of the text of the Old Testament and of the biblical background.

Since variations in the views and positions of scholars and the general directions and emphases of biblical scholarship are most likely first to be reflected in current periodicals and journals, the discussions drawn from these sources are intended to clarify the central problem of this study, to trace the role of the archaeology of Palestine in the interpretation of the Old Testament as reflected in American scholarly periodical literature from 1940 to 1965.

The problem does not include the task of evaluating the importance of the views expressed by the respective scholars, though the evaluations of others of particular viewpoints often appear in the course of discussion. Nor does the problem include the determination of the value of the Old Testament traditions. Rather, it is limited to the use of archaeological data, whether epigraphical or anepigraphical, in the study of Old Testament events, institutions and concepts from the patriarchal period to the end of the United Kingdom (Solomon).

2. The Method

The writer was guided in the application of historical method by the recognized processes of external and internal criticism outlined in The Modern Researcher.[9] (by Jacques Barzun and Henry P. Graf) and Understanding History, A Primer of Historical Method.[10] (by Louis Gottschalk) and in such courses as "Historical Research" (by James H. Hanscom).[11]

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[9] New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1962.

The primary sources of this study included the articles on the descriptive and interpretive use of archaeological data in the discussion of Old Testament events, institutions and concepts by biblical scholars from 1940 to 1965, appearing in twelve major scholarly periodicals and journals. Relevant articles were also selected from other periodicals representing educational institutions and major demoninational groups.[12]

Secondary sources were used in the writing of the background material appearing in Chapters one to four. The selection of secondary sources was limited to works by authors with three of the following qualifications: professors in the field of Near Eastern studies in recognized graduate institutions, members of national or international Oriental societies, contributors to scholarly journals and periodicals, authors whose works are used in graduate courses in Old Testament or archaeological research, or whose works are included in the selected bibliographies of the scholarly literature of Near Eastern research. The data were tested for bias, contradiction, and validation by independent sources and assertions concerning influence and motive in the history of Old Testament research were noted.

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[10] New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964.

[11] New York University School of Education.

[12] See Appendix A and B.

In the method followed for the analysis of the primary sources which constituted the main part of this work, the relevant data were extracted and classified topically and chronologically. Concepts appearing two or more times in a related sense, whether by one or more authors, were tested for logical and chronological consistency. The data which did not meet the test of consistency were noted for differences and changes in the main body of the dissertation.

Because of the great diversity of emphasis on many topics, and the great disparity in the amount of discussion, dependent on the popularity or importance of the topic, and because of the variety of interpretive changes, the discussion has been arranged into three segments based on biblical time periods, preceded by an evaluation of the subject by the scholars involved. The discussion within each unit and the headings and material considered within each subunit has been determined by the written work appearing in the periodical literature and may on occasion therefore not present a comprehensive discussion of each individual subject. Further, because of the great variety of subjects, discussion within the sub-heads may include peripheral information which does not warrant a separate section. The method adopted here was deemed best for enabling the reader to follow the development of discussion. The unit on "Controversy and Change in Old Testament Studies" is presented in order to elucidate the wider patterns within the change in biblical studies, while the three chapters which follow are intended to show the consistency or change within the discussion of individual concepts and the role of archaeology within that discussion.

In the transliteration of Hebrew words and place names, the consonantal symbols are represented by:

א - ʾ
ב - b
ג - g
ד - d
ה - h
ו - w
ז - z
ח - ḥ

ט - ṭ
י - y
כ,ך - k
ל - l
מ,ם - m
נ,ן - n
ס - s
ע - ʿ

פ,ף - p
צ,ץ - ṣ
ק - q
ר - r
שׂ - ś
שׁ - sh
ת - t

The presence or absence of *dagesh lene* in the *begad kepat* letters is not shown. Consonants with *dagesh forte* are written double.

The multiplicity of works and the frequency with which reference is made to them has necessitated the abbreviation of bibliographical citations, as is common in biblical research and as suggested in A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses and Dissertations (by Kate L. Turabian).[13] A list of abbreviations appears on the first page of the bibliography. The year of publication has been included in all footnotes so the full title may easily be located in the bibliography which has been arranged chronologically. Where changes have been noted in the discussion of a particular subject, the publication dates will assist in suggesting the relevant time interval.

Consideration may now be given to a survey of the development of Palestinian archaeology, archaeological activity in Palestine (later Israel and Jordan) from 1940 to 1965, and a survey of Palestinian culture in providing a setting for the main chapters on the attitude toward and the role of archaeology in the interpretation of early Israelite history, and a final section on "Summary and Conclusions."

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[13] Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955.

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APPENDIX

I. THE DEVELOPMENT OF PALESTINIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

1. Growing Interest in the Biblical World Following Establishment of Christianity

The impetus for exploration and archaeological endeavor and interest in Palestine has been the result, to a large extent, of the role which the area has played in the development of three major religions, Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Prompted by personal piety and general interest in new information concerning the persons and places of the biblical record, pilgrim and explorer alike attempted to discover, and sometimes to record, their observations, often at considerable personal risk, of this comparatively unknown land.

With the establishment of Christianity as the official religion of the Roman Empire, the interest of Constantine and his mother, Empress Helena, who in 326 A.D. conducted some excavation in endeavoring to determine the site of the Holy Sepulchre, motivated a stream of pilgrims to visit the "holy land." As early as 333 A.D., a Bordeaux pilgrim left one of the earliest accounts of his visits to the various parts of the country.[1] Later accounts of Paula, a Roman lady, and

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[1] Frederick Jones Bliss, The Development of Palestine Exploration. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906, pp. 48-50 (hereafter referred to as "Bliss".) Cf. "The Bordeaux Pilgrim," Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem (A.D. 333). (Tr. Aubrey Stewart and annotated C.W. Wilson) London: Palestine Pilgrim Text Society, 1887.

Eustochium her daughter, who left Rome in 382 to wander for two years in Palestine and finally settle in Bethlehem, written by her friend Jerome, contain numerous historical insights.[2] Another lady of rank, possibly St. Silvia of Aquitaine, left a significant, though partial, account of her travels sometime between 379 and 388 A.D.,[3] and the Epitome of Saint Eucherius preserved a short nine hundred word topographical description of various parts of the country.[4] However, the most significant compilation of this period is a list of place names of Palestine, mentioned in the Bible, arranged in alphabetical order with the biblical events attached to them, often identified with proposed fourth century sites, and the distances from other well-known places. This Onomasticon was composed by Eusebius of Caesarea during the fourth century, and in the fifth century translated into Latin by Jerome who travelled extensively in Palestine and died in 420 A.D.[5]

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[2] Ibid., pp. 50-52. Jerome (340/2-420) a leading biblical exegete who arrived in Bethlehem in 386 to settle in a monastary to a life of asceticism and study, believed an exegete must have an extensive knowledge of history, linguistics and the geography of Palestine.

[3] Ibid., pp. 53-55.

[4] Ibid., pp. 55-57.

[5] George A. Barton, Archeology and the Bible, Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union, 1946 (7th edition) p.95.

With the coming of the sixth century, the descriptions by travelers in the country were increasingly permeated with descriptions of relics and legendary sites, until, during the Middle Ages only the religious aspect of Palestine exploration seemed to appeal to the travelers. With emphasis on contemplation on the sites and events in the lives of biblical personages, the pilgrims were regimented in their "touring" by the monastic hosts who instructed them in the traditional ecclesiastically-accepted "history."[6]

This pilgrim stage of exploration in Palestine continued through the seventeenth century, though slowly purely scientific interest in the remains of antiquity became evident in the copying of inscriptions, the measuring of buildings, and the exploration and description of tomb-chambers.[7] This emphasis on archaeological investigation continued to grow during the first quarter of the nineteenth century with the journeys of the German scholar, Ulrich Jasper Seetzen (1805-7), who was the first to explore Transjordan scientifically and discover the ruins of Jerash and Amman; the Swiss, Johann Ludwig Burckhardt (1810-12), who discovered Petra and was the first to correctly record Arabic place names; and the English, C.L. Irby and James Mangles, commanders in the Royal Navy, who spent nine months in Syria and Palestine, identifying 'Araq el-Emir and making valuable archaeological notations.[8]

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[6] R.A.S. Macalister, A Century of Excavation in Palestine. London: The Religious Tract Society, 1925. pp. 15-16.

[7] Ibid., p. 18.

The scientific study of the antiquities of Palestine was begun by an American, Professor Edward Robinson, who travelled through the country with Rev. Eli Smith, a veteran missionary in Syria, who was thoroughly knowledgeable in travel conditions. Though criss-crossing mainly the central hill country from Beersheba northward as far as Beirut, and giving special attention to archaeological features, Robinson's notes sometimes generalized such finds as merely indicating the antiquity of the site. The importance of tells as the repositories of earlier cultures eluded him since, for him, nothing whatever on the sites seemed to indicate the nature of any former town or structure.[9] Thus his description of Tell es-Sultan failed to recognize the site's true importance. It was described as "...a high double-mound, or group of mounds, looking much like a tumulus, or as if composed of rubbish... but any distinct traces of the former city was now hardly to be looked for."[10] These limitations of Robinson's research should not overshadow the important contributions in identification of Biblical sites and his description of the physical geography of the Holy Land. Avoiding ecclesiastical traditions, he adopted the methods employed by Seetzen and Burckhardt in Eastern Palestine of inquiring of local inhabitants or wandering bedouin the names of modern villages or ruined remains. Thus through a method of cross-examination Robinson and Smith began to pinpoint the location of well-known biblical place names, and with the completion of two expeditions during five months in 1838 and 1852, his indices of ancient geographical names first visited or identified contained one hundred and sixty biblical, Greek, Roman, and Crusader place names.[11]

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[8] Ibid., pp. 18-19. Cf. Bliss, pp. 173-183; William F. Albright, The Archaeology of Palestine. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1961. pp. 24-25.

[9] Bliss, pp. 202-207.

Scores of other travellers followed, applying Robinson's methods, in surface topography and criticism of "holy" places, unsystematically to various studies of the country. However, a number of these travellers made significant contributions. As a tourist in Palestine in 1835, Dr. Titus Tobler, a German, was motivated by his interest in the archaeological sites to become a scientific explorer, and after returning to Germany to review former studies on the Holy Land, he spent twenty weeks in 1845-1946 in a detailed study of Jerusalem and its environs which Robinson had largely disregarded. Later in 1857, a more extended study of the Judaean area was followed by a detailed monograph on Nazareth,[12] in which he endeavored to establish the locations of the ancient religious sites.

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[10] Biblical Researches, I, pp. 555-6.

[11] Bliss, pp. 209-211.

In 1852 Victor Guérin, a Frenchman, began the monumental task of single-handedly mapping Palestine and writing a descriptive monograph of archaeological observations in seven volumes. However, the significance of the tell stili eluded the explorer, for in his description of Tell el-Hesi, Guérin fails to discriminate between the natural bluff and the superimposed accumulations of the tell, and suggests that important cities have not only been completely razed, but have been, as it were, effaced with the soil.[13]

The period of excavation began in the middle of the nineteenth century with the tour of Felicien de Saulcy who was attracted to the rock-cut burial chambers to the north of Jerusalem, popularly called "The Tombs of the Kings." After receiving an excavation permit from the Turkish authorities in 1863, he excavated and removed to the Louvre in Paris a number of sarcophagi which he had identified as the resting place of the pre-exilic kings.[14]

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[12] Bliss, pp. 224-228.

[13] _Ibid_., pp. 228-231.

[14] Macalister, pp. 26-28.

Meanwhile, from October 1860 to October 1961, Ernest Renan conducted four short, exploratory excavations at Ruad, Byblos, Sidon and Tyre along the Phoenician coast for the purpose of studying Phoenician monuments. His unawareness of the importance of small objects may be seen in his suggestion that the recovery of objects in graves is a suitable occupation for the natives if in the process they do not destroy important monuments.[15]

These explorations and studies had sufficiently stimulated interest in England to prompt the establishment of a society for procuring and publishing information concerning the geography, people, climate and history of the Holy Land. Because of the partial and isolated nature of previous researches, the Palestine Exploration Fund, organized on June 22, 1865 in London, proposed that an expedition of thoroughly competent scholars in each branch of research, "with perfect command of funds and time," be sent to produce an acceptable report on Palestine.[16] The subsequent success of the Palestine Exploration Fund, in part, must be attributed to its adherence to three basic guidelines established at the initial meeting, namely; each undertaking must be conducted on scientific principles, the society should abstain from controversy, and its character should not be religious.[17]

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[15] Bliss, pp. 242-254.

[16] In terms of its aims, the establishment of the Fund was the re-institution of the Palestine Association formed in 1804 which sent only two representatives to conduct an exploration but who did not continue beyond Malta because of rumors of unrest in Palestine. The Association was dissolved in 1834.

Within six months, between December 1865 and May 1866, the first expedition headed by Sir Charles Warren made a series of sketch maps of the country to determine locations for future excavation.[18] This was followed in 1867 by a second expedition, again headed by Warren, intent on settling once and for all the controversies regarding the Holy Places in Jerusalem. Such an energetic objective highlights the glowing expectation for these early endeavors in Palestinian excavation.[19]

Meanwhile, American interest had been stimulated by the work of Robinson, and in 1848 another American, Lieutenant W.F. Lynch of the United States Navy together with a geologist, Dr. Anderson, explored the Dead Sea and determined its elevation to be 1300 feet below sea level.[20] The American Palestine Exploration Society was formed in 1870, and after negotiating for a cooperative program of exploration with the British, undertook the survey of Transjordan. Though two expeditions were sent, the project was discontinued in 1877 due to lack of funds and other obstacles.[21]

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[17] Bliss, pp. 255-260.

[18] Barton, p. 97.

[19] Macalister, pp. 32ff.

[20] Official Report of the United States Expedition to Explore the Dead Sea and the River Jordan. Baltimore, 1852.

The Palestine Exploration Fund similarly became the model for the German society named Deutscher Palästina Verein which was formed on September 28, 1877. Though the German society made a series of trenches on Ophel and near the Pool of Siloam at Jerusalem in 1880 and interest had been high among German and Austrian scholars, the political climate between Germany and Turkey was such that extensive involvement in excavation did not seem feasible before the turn of the century.[22]

With few exceptions therefore, exploration and excavation prior to 1900 was conducted under the auspices of the Palestine Exploration Fund. Between 1871 and 1878, a complete and authoritative map with a description of all archaeological remains was completed by C.R. Conder and H.H. Kitchener. In 1881, Conder began a similar project in Transjordan which had to be discontinued after only ten weeks because of Turkish opposition. In 1873-4, the former French Consul in Jerusalem and scholar, Charles Clermont-Ganneau was entrusted with an archaeological mission and made numerous archaeological discoveries between Jaffa and Jerusalem. In 1883-4, Professor Edward Hull and Major H.H. Kitchener made a complete survey of the district lying between Mount Sinai and the Arabah. This extensive program of survey and surface exploration provided an understanding of the country which was to prove invaluable in future archaeological endeavor and study.[23]

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[21] Albright, p. 28; Bliss, p. 283.

[22] Albright, p. 32.

2. Development of Excavation in the Early Twentieth Century

Though minor excavations had been conducted earlier, Palestinian archaeological excavation began in earnest in 1890 at Tell el-Hesi in Southern Palestine where Sir W.M. Flinders Petrie began to apply the principles of sequence dating which he had developed in a decade of excavation in Egypt. By comparison with datable pottery from Egyptian tombs, several of the pottery periods in Petrie's vertical sections were approximately dated and Petrie demonstrated that each period had its own unique pottery which could be identified chronologically by a trained archaeologist.[24] Thus, pottery became the chronological key which not only reopened the discussion of biblical site identifications, but demonstrated that, as Bliss, who endeavored to improve and develop Petrie's method, pointed out,

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[23] Macalister, pp. 98-9.

[24] Albright, p. 29.

"the exploration of the future, thus, must be largely conducted underground."[25]

For the next two decades the Palestine Exploration Fund continued excavation almost without interruption. Following excavations conducted by Bliss in Jerusalem,[26] a number of sites in the Shephelah region were excavated from 1898 to 1900 in varying degrees.[27] A young Irish archaeologist, R.A.S. Macalister, who had been Bliss' assistant during the Shephelah excavations, was commissioned to undertake the next major project of the Fund, the excavation of Gezer. This site, Tell el-Jazar, which had been identified by Clermont-Ganneau, was under excavation from June, 1902 until August, 1905 (with interruptions during winter weather and an outbreak of cholera) and from 1906 to 1908.[28] During that time over three-fifths of the total surface area of the tell was excavated to reveal occupation levels from Neolithic to Maccabean times. Unfortunately, stratigraphy and photography were neglected, architectural records were sketchy, and surveying and levelling were lacking. While the reports of the previous four excavations in the Shephelah region had demonstrated the highest level of competence with the bulk of the pottery of three or four periods correctly dated, Macalister's "compulsion" to change the previously adopted Bliss-Macalister chronology resulted in a faulty dating and reinterpretation of everything in the three volumes of his excavation report which appeared in 1912.[29]

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[25] Bliss, p. 289.

[26] From 1894 to 1897.

[27] Tell Zakariyeh (Azekah), Tell eṣ-Ṣafi (tentatively identified as Gath), where digging was largely limited by a Moslem cemetery, Tell el-Judeideh, and Tell Ṣandaḥannah were excavated in that order.

[28] Macalister, p. 64; Cf. Barton, pp. 101-2.

With the beginning of the twentieth century, political relations with the Turks had improved to the point that Germany's and Austria's desire to be involved in exploration in Palestine could be realized. The Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft had been formed in 1898 under the German emperor's patronage and by 1901 Ernst Sellin began an excavation at Tell Taanach. Though under-staffed for such a large undertaking, Sellin made extensive soundings from 1901 to 1904 which recovered numerous important objects including a dozen cuneiform tablets and fragments from a century before the Amarna period. However, the report of the excavation was deprived of its full significance by Sellin's neglect of stratigraphy.[30]

From 1903 to 1905 Gottlieb Schumacher, who had initially excavated with Sellin, was placed in charge of excavations at Megiddo for the Deutsche Orient Gesellschaft. While Schumacher as a trained draughtsman produced beautiful plans and drawings, his inaccuracies in measurements made it impossible to incorporate them into the later work of the Oriental Institute.[31]

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[29] Albright, pp. 30-1.

[30] _Ibid._, p. 32.

In 1907 the first properly staffed major excavation began at Jericho under the direction of Ernst Sellin and Carl Watzinger, assisted by a staff of architects, and in 1913, forthe first time, excavation reports were adequately published with excellent plans, drawings, and photographs illustrating a detailed text. Unfortunately, German independent approach and originality left much to be desired in the proposed chronology, and the conclusions concerning the dating of architecture and strata needed to be revised in the light of comparative study.[32]

In 1908 a second fully-staffed expedition began the Harvard excavation of Samaria under the direction of George A. Reisner. Aided by C.S. Fisher, Reisner demonstrated care for detail in accurate surveying, competent architectural analysis and photographic records in the report of the Samaria excavation which appeared in 1924.[33]

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[31] Ibid., p. 33.

[32] Ibid., pp. 33-4.

[33] Ibid., pp. 34-4.

The Palestine Exploration Fund continued its work under the direction of Dr. Duncan Mackenzie for three short seasons (1911-12) at Tell er-Rumeileh (Beth-shemesh), and C. Leonard Woolley and T.E. Lawrence, during the winter of 1913-14, explored the wilderness of the south of Palestine, identifying "the way of Shur" and Kadesh-barnea. With the outbreak of World War I, excavation came to a complete halt, since Palestine was directly involved in the conflict. However, with the subsequent change in the political environment, this hiatus became the prelude to the period of greatest productivity of Palestinian archaeological excavation.[34]

3. Archaeological Frenzy Following World War I

With the establishment of the British Mandate, also came the establishment of a properly equipped Department of Antiquities, under the direction of John Garstang, charged with facilitating legitimate research within Palestine. Britain now established a British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem and other significant changes aided the development of the science. From the total lack of contact between archaeological expeditions which existed, especially between the British and the Germans, and the lack of continuity which seemed inevitable with a change of personnel in the field,

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[34] Macalister, pp. 69-70.

L.H. Vincent, a French Dominican, who was the pottery expert of the period and personally familiar with excavations from before the turn of the century, helped to introduce new personnel to the field and was largely responsible for the spirit of cooperation which developed. Increased ease of travel simplified visits to excavations in progress and the exchange of results and views at the meetings of the Palestine Oriental Society or the Palestine Museum naturally led to greater progress through cooperative effort.[35]

During this period advance was especially significant in the area of prehistoric studies. Though some stone tools and flints had been found in surface exploration and cave soundings, stratigraphy and the types of man, flora and fauna associated with the individual types of tools were unknown. An Englishman, F. Turville-Petre, while excavating two caves in the Wad el-'Amud above the Sea of Galilee in 1925, not only was first to discover stratified deposits but also the remains of prehistoric man.[36] This was the culmination of surveys which from 1923 had disclosed a number of prehistoric sites in the Plain of Gennesaret,[37] and soon led to a long series of excavations in Palestinian caves begun in 1928 by Miss Dorothy Garrod under the joint auspices of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem and the American School of Prehistoric Research.[38] Within the next fifteen years a dozen more or less complete Neanderthal or Neandertaloid skeletons, and the remains of over one hundred persons of the Middle Stone Age, greatly increased knowledge of the arrival of man in Palestine.[39] René Neuville, representing the French, was involved in a series of productive excavations at el-Khiam[40] and Mugharet Umm el-Qatafah,[41] southeast of Bethlehem. Père Denys Buzy discovered an important surface station in Wadi Tahuneh south of Bethlehem with an industry which seemed to indicate the transition from hunting to agriculture.[42]

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[35] Albright, pp. 35-6.

[36] McCown, Chester C. The Ladder of Progress in Palestine. New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1943, pp. 18-20.

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[37] F. Turville-Petre, Researches in Prehistoric Galilee, 1925-6. London: The British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, 1927.

[38] Albright, p. 37; Cf. D.A.E. Garrod and D.M.A. Bate, The Stone Age of Mount Carmel, Vol. I. London: Oxford University Press, 1937.

[39] McCown, pp. 18, 19.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

[41] E. Anati, Palestine Before the Hebrews, New York: Aldred A. Knopf, 1963, pp. 69-75.

[42] *Ibid.*, pp. 258-263.

The first in a long series of excavations undertaken by British organizations which now took the archaeological lead in Palestine was conducted at Ashkelon in 1921-2 under the direction of J. Garstang and W.J. Phythian-Adams for the Palestine Exploration Fund and the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem.[43] During the fall of 1922, they continued their exploration with soundings and trenches at Gaza[44] and Tell Jemmeh.[45] From 1923 to 1928 a series of excavations were conducted on the Ophel in Jerusalem by Macalister, Duncan and Crowfoot.[46]

With the renewal of archaeological activity, Sir Flinders Petrie returned to Palestine in 1927 after an absence of thirty-seven years to continue excavation in Southern Palestine. Unfortunately, his disregard for the archaeological advances in the intervening years seriously hampered his evaluation of his excavations at Tel el-'Ajjul from 1930 to 1934, and his shorter excavations at Tell Jemmeh south of Gaza, Tell el-Far'ah,[47]

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[43] Albright, pp. 37, 38.

[44] PEQSt., January 1923, pp. 18-36.

[45] PEQSt., July 1923, pp. 137-146.

[46] Albright, p. 38.

[47] Identified by Petrie as being Beth-pelet.

Anthedon,[48] and Petra from 1935 to 1937.[49]

Under the successive direction of C.S. Fisher, Alan Rowe, and G.M. FitzGerald, and the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania Museum, the first American expedition after World War I began work at Beth-shan where from 1921 to 1933 ten campaigns were conducted.[50]

In 1925 C.S. Fisher joined the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago to direct the excavation of Megiddo where nearly one million dollars were spent from 1925 to 1939 in a plan which proposed the excavation of the entire site, stratum after stratum. When Fisher was forced to retire from the excavation for health reasons, he was succeeded by P.L.O. Guy and later Gordon Loud.[51]

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[48] During the spring, winter and late fall of 1935-36, the excavation of Tell Abu Selimeh, near the River of Egypt north of el-'Arish, revealed twelve or thirteen strata of occupation from the nineteenth dynasty to the Roman periods. Petrie identified the site as Anthedon, and his findings were published under that name in 1937.

[49] McCown, pp. 126-130.

[50] Alan Rowe, The Topography and History of Beth-shan. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum, 1930; The Four Canaanite Temples of Beth-shan, Part I. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum, 1940.

[51] C.S. Fisher, The Excavation of Armageddon. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929, Philip L.O. Guy, Megiddo Tombs. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938. Gordon Loud, The Megiddo Ivories. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939; Megiddo. Seasons of 1935-39. Vol. II. Chicago; University of Chicago Press, 1948.

A most significant excavation began in 1926 at Tell Beit Mirsim, the biblical Kiriath-sepher (Debir), southwest of Hebron, under the direction of M.G. Kyle and William F. Albright. During four campaigns from 1926 to 1932, partial excavation of the site uncovered ten or eleven periods of occupation from the late third millenium to about 589 BC. The findings of the excavation were promptly published and its pottery sequence became the comparative dating "key" for other sites in Palestine.[52]

At the same time in 1926 excavations began at Tell en-Naṣbeh, a small mound eight miles north of Jerusalem, under the direction of F.W. Bade with the aid of C.S. Fisher and the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem. Four additional campaigns between 1927 and 1935 demonstrated a brief early occupation at about 3000 BC and the main history of the city between 1100 and 300 BC with two main architectural levels, dating between the 11th-8th and the 7th-4th centuries.[53]

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[52] Albright, pp. 40-43. Cf. Melvin G. Kyle, *Excavating Kirjath-sepher's Ten Cities;* a Palestine fortress from Abraham's day to Nebuchadnezzar's. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1934.

[53] G. Ernest Wright, "Tell en-Naṣbeh," *Biblical Archaeologist*, Vol. X. (1947) pp. 69-77. (The death of the director in 1936 left the responsibility of interpretation and publication to C.C. McCown and J.C. Wampler who was a member of the staff during the last three campaigns. This partially explains the lengthy delay in the publication of the finds which appeared in 1947.) Cf. Chester C. McCown, *Tel en-Naṣbeh*. Excavated under the direction of the late William Frederic Bade. Berkeley and New Haven: The Palestine Institute of Pacific School of Religion and the American Schools of Oriental Research, 1947

Five seasons of excavation from 1928 to 1933 at Beth-shemesh by Elihu Grant for Haverford College revealed an occupation of the site from _circa_. 2200 BC to the destruction of the city in 586 BC.[54] During eight seasons in the winters of 1929 to 1938, Father A. Mallon, R. Neuville, Father R. Koeppel, and after Father Mallon's death in 1934, his successor, Father M. Lobignac, excavated the site of Teleilat el-Ghassul northeast of the Dead Sea. This large unorganized town which preceded the other great Palestinian cities contained fifteen feet of deposits representing two main occupation periods, Neolithic and Chalcolithic, beginning before 4000 BC to 3500 BC.[55]

After leaving Sir Flinders Petrie's expedition of the British School of Archaeology in Egypt in 1932, J.L. Starkey, G. Lankester Harding and H. Dunscomb Colt considered two mounds, Tell esh-Sheikh Ahmed el-Areini (considered to be Gath) and Tell ed-Duweir (which had been identified by Albright as Lachish), in forming a joint British-American expedition. The three chief British donors, Sir Henry Wellcome, Sir Charles

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[54] Elihu Grant, Beth Shemesh (Palestine) (Biblical and Kindred Studies, No. 8). Haverford, Pa.: Haverford College, 1929. _Ain Shems Excavations_. Vol. I, II, III. Haverford, Pa.: Haverford College, and Elihu Grant and G. Ernest Wright, _Ain Shems Excavations_, Vol. IV, V. Haverford, Pa.: Haverford College, 1931-39.

[55] McCown, pp. 55,56.

Marston and Sir Robert Mond decided on work at Tell ed-Duweir where excavations were then conducted through six seasons, each of about six months, during the winters from 1932 to 1938.[56]

With a growing interest in the date of the Israelite conquest, J. Garstang continued the excavation of Jericho from 1929 to 1936 which had been begun by the Germans.[57] Shorter excavations for the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem were directed at Beth-zur[58] in 1931 by O.R. Sellers and W.F. Albright, and at Bethel[59] in 1934 by W.F. Albright and J.L. Kelso.

Serious political unrest between Arab and Jewish factions began to hamper significantly archaeological endeavors in 1936. Yet, M. Stekelis and other members of the Hebrew University investigated prehistoric settlements on the shores of the Jordan River below Lake Huleh in 1936 and 1937[60] and J.d'A. Waechter and V.M. Seton-Williams discovered a Tahunian stone industry in Wadi Dhobai southeast of 'Amman.[61] The activities of Professor Nelson Glueck were, however, the only major exception to the otherwise quiet archaeological front. In three seasons from 1938 to 1940, on behalf of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, and with the support of the American Philosophical Society,[62] he excavated Tell el-Kheleifeh which he defined as a large smelting and refining plant with a complicated system of flues and air-channels for the reduction of copper and iron ores mined in the Arabah.[63] The large square complex was fortified by two walls and a three-fold gateway with guard rooms.[64] The first of its five distinct occupation levels was dated to the time of King Solomon from the last part of the tenth to the first part of the ninth century. The second occupational level, may have belonged to the reign of King Jehoshaphat of Judah who reconstructed the site between 873 and 849 BC with occupation continuing to the first part of the eighth century.[65] Period III belonged to the eighth century when it was constructed by Uzziah (779-740 BC) and destroyed by a severe conflagration.[66] The next occupation began in 735 BC when the Edomites, taking advantage of the Syro-Ephraimitic wars, drove the Judeans out of Elath, and lasted until the end of the sixth century when it may have come under Persian rule. With the end of the fifth village in the first part of the fourth century, the Nabataeans built their site at Aila near 'Aqabah which became the terminus of the famous highway of Trajan.[67]

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[56] G. Ernest Wright, "Judean Lachish," Biblical Archaeologist, Vol. XVIII (1955), pp. 9-17. Cf. H. Torczyner, O. Tufnell, C.H. Inge, and G. Lankester Harding, Lachish I, II, III, IV. London: Oxford University Press, 1938-1958. (After the death of Mr. Starkey in 1938, the work continued through the spring of 1938 under the direction of C.H. Inge and G. Lankester Harding.)

[57] Albright, p. 38. Cf. John Garstang and J.B.E. Garstang, The Story of Jericho. London: Marshall, Mordan and Scott, Ltd. 1948.

[58] O.R. Sellers and O. Rogers, The Citadel of Beth-zur. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1933.

[59] Albright, p. 44.

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[60] McCown, pp. 28,29.

[61] Albright, p. 64.

[62] During the 1939 and 1940 seasons, the excavation was also aided by the Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, and the Smithsonian Institute, respectively.

[63] Nelson Glueck, "Ezion-geber; Elath, the Gateway to Arabia" The Biblical Archaeologist, Vol, II (1939) pp. 37-41.

[64] "Archaeologist News and Discussions" A.J.A., Vol. 45 (1941), pp. 116, 117. (The fortifications consisted of two lines of defense, an inner wall, strengthened by regular off-sets along its outer side, 25 feet high and from 7-1/2 to 9 feet thick, with a strong glacis built against it with corresponding offsets, and, about nine feet beyond the base of the glacis, another fortification wall, about three feet thick and ten feet high with a second glacis built against it. Between the walls was a nine-foot wide dry moat.) Cf., N. Glueck, "Ezion-geber: Elath -- City of Bricks with Straw." B.A., Vol. III (1940) pp. 51-55.

Initiated by a religious interest in the land associated with biblical history, and fostered by the perennial desire to stand and walk in the footsteps of biblical personalities, pilgrim, tourist and scholar fanned the flame of desire to recover the physical, material evidences of the past. The appeal of the land further stimulated the provision of financial resources for scientific endeavors which led first to exploration and then to excavation. However unscientific at first these endeavors might have been, an additional impetus came from the excuse they provided for colonizing governments to send expeditions to establish a foothold in the Near East. The early attempts at excavation in Palestine proved most disappointing following the experiences of archaeologists in Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, Turkey and Greece where exquisite museum treasures had rewarded most expeditions. Only with a reorientation of values following Sir W.M. Flinders Petrie's demonstration of the principle of sequence dating through pottery did the future importance of Palestinian archaeology begin to appear. The refinement of this "key" within the next fifty years (1890-1940) not only provided a basis for a precise interpretation of the material culture of individual sites but established criteria for the formulation of a synthesis of Near Eastern cultural history.

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[65] This second period of reconstruction and occupation may also have belonged to the time of Solomon.

[66] The site became known as Elath.

[67] "Archaeological News and Discussions" A.J.A., Vol. 47 (1943), pp. 231, 232. Cf., The Smithsonian Report, 1941, pp. 453-478.

II. ARCHEOLOGICAL ACTIVITY IN PALESTINE AND JORDAN, 1940-1965

1. Archaeological Activity, 1940 to 1945.

Two major phases in biblical archaeology preceded the period of this study. The first phase encompassed the time from Napoleon's invasion of Egypt to the close of the first World War when the excavations in Egypt and Mesopotamia and the translations of inscriptional materials made basic contributions to limited aspects of Old Testament history. The translations proved most valuable to the linguistic study of the Bible, but when inferences were drawn for the theology of the Old Testament, the conclusions were most frequently inadequate or incorrect, and the overall view of biblical history was very sketchy. In Palestine, work was limited largely to the geographical survey of Edward Robinson and the efforts at scientific excavation by Sir Flinders Petrie in southern Palestine. As we have seen, other excavations followed at Gezer, Jericho, Megiddo, and Samaria, but all failed to solve the complicated chronological problems which were basic to an Old Testament chronological framework which alone could clarify the historical panorama.

During the second phase between World War I and the beginning of World War II, general archaeology in the Near East and especially in Palestine and Syria yielded such a wealth of new data for all periods of Old Testament history that publication of the new material could not keep up with the excavations. With this over-abundance of new information from the seeming-fanatical attack on ancient sites throughout Palestine, a continuous re-evaluation of suppositions and conclusions soon out-dated the few books written before the First World War, and took its toll of many hastily prepared, premature evaluations in tomes of more recent vintage. It was not unusual then that books on biblical archaeology began to flood the market. However, the field of biblical archaeology was now plagued with so vast and so complex a wealth of bible-related information that only very few scholars were masters in the whole field and these were committed to original research and the publication of technical studies. The unfortunate result was a rash of popular, conjectural patchworks of truth and error, with "proofs" from archaeology covering almost every phase of biblical history. Leading biblical scholars called for a frequent inventory and interpretation for the non-specialist, and it was the beginning of World War II, the general international economic depression and other factors which conspired to establish this new phase committed largely to the presentation of yet unpublished archaeological materials and their interpretation and evaluation.[1]

Archaeological work in Palestine and Transjordan during World War II was largely limited to the local organizations, i.e., the Department of Antiquities, the Hebrew University, and the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society. The American School of Oriental Research directed by Dr. Nelson Glueck who continued his archaeological exploration of Transjordan, and École Biblique which excavated at Qiryat el-'Inab, were the only foreign-sponsored organizations which were active. The continuing unrest between the British and Arab and Jewish factions and the subsequent Arab-Israeli war extended the disruption of archaeological activities in 1948. But this new phase of biblical archaeology was confronted with additional handicaps. In surveying the field of biblical archaeology in 1946, Professor G. Ernest Wright suggested three specific areas which had slowed the effect of archaeology's true impact and meaning on biblical studies.[2] The departure of many of the older archaeologists from active participation in excavation had created a scarcity of trained workers. There existed inadequacies in publications and a confusion within and among the reports of excavations, largely due to the incompetence of the archaeologists in excavation and evaluation. This condition, though improved with the establishment of various departments of antiquities, continued through the inadequacies of earlier excavations and the publication of those results which prompted the complete restudies of sites such as Jericho, Gezer and Megiddo. The third handicap suggested by Professor Wright will be a continuing problem in the field of biblical archaeology. There is an urgent need for a broad cultural interest and training on the part of the professional archaeologists and the scholars who interpret their findings since the broader aim of archaeology is the interpretation of the life and culture of ancient civilizations in the perspective of the whole history of man.

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[1] Herbert G. May, Review of "What Mean These Stones?" by Millar Burrows, Journal of Biblical Literature, Vol. 61 (1942), p. 283.

[2] G. Ernest Wright, "Biblical Archaeology Today," Biblical Archaeologist, Vol. X (1947) pp. 7-24.

In 1941 Professor Nelson Glueck returned to the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem to continue his archaeological researches in Transjordan. In his attempt to recover the archaeological, historical and geographical part of Transjordan, Professor Glueck's surveys, which began in 1932, led to the discovery of more than 1500 previously unrecorded sites and the determination of their chronology from the potsherds which covered their surfaces.[3] Dr. M. Stekelis, under the auspices of the British School of Archaeology, also began an investigation and clearance of a large number of dolmens and stone circles in Transjordan, east of Jisr ed-Damieh, while G.L. Harding, Curator of the Transjordan Department of Antiquities, and J.H. Iliffe, Curator of the Palestine Archaeological Museum, studied dolmens west of Amman.[4]

Salvage activities were directed to various parts of the country following the accidental discovery of individual graves and tomb groups. Two tombs containing more than eighty distinctive Transjordan Iron Age vessels dated to the eighth-sixth centuries B.C. were cleared just east of the Amman amphitheatre on behalf of the Transjordan Department of Antiquities by G. Lankester Harding. In the hill country, a tomb containing Middle Bronze and Iron Age pottery was cleared at el-Jib. At Silwan, a double cave used for burials in the Early and Middle Bronze Ages was excavated, and at Ramallah, a tomb with six burials of the Iron Age I-II was found during the construction of an air-raid shelter.[5]

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[3] W.F. Albright, "Review of The River Jordan By Nelson Glueck." J.B.R., Vol. XIV (1946) p. 170.

[4] N. Glueck, A.J.A., Vol. 47 (1943), p. 125.

[5] idem., "Archaeological Activity in Palestine and Trans-Jordan in 1941-1942." A.J.A., Vol. 47 (1943) pp. 126-127, 130-131.

2. Archaeological Activity, 1946 to 1950

With the cessation of hostilities of World War II, renewed interest in major sustained archaeological excavations again became evident, only to be thwarted again in 1948 by the end of the British Mandate in Palestine and the subsequent Arab-Israeli war and the division of the country. This period of transition was a most difficult time for Palestinian archaeology. Though all of the foreign archaeological institutions, with the exception of the Pontifical Biblical Institute, were situated within the newly formed borders of Jordan, political uncertainty in the area deterred renewed excavation.

Only the École biblique et archeologique française de Jerusalem conducted a major excavation during this time. Pere R. de Vaux directed nine seasons of excavation between 1946 and 1961[6] on the ancient site of Tell el-Far'ah,[7] seven miles northeast of Nablus.[8] The first occupation of the site appeared to be scattered pre-pottery Neolithic pits with plastered floors and bone and flint implements akin to Jericho pre-pottery Neolithic B. A true city characteristic appeared with a large-scale human population and the presence of pottery, parallel to Pottery Neolithic B at Jericho. Lower and Upper Chalcolithic constructions were found to be limited to dwellings of shallow pits surrounded by a small, pebble-mud wall and were associated with grey-burnished, red-burnished and painted ware found together in strata on the tell and in the tombs. Through six successive strata, the remains of a new culture, the Early Bronze City displayed a drastically changed, planned settlement with mud-brick roofed rectangular homes, sewage disposal, with ramparts and a fortified gate dated from circa., 3100 BC to 2600 BC. This most extensive settlement was followed by a lengthy hiatus. The sparse population, which began reoccupation in the nineteenth century (MB IIA), gradually grew until Tell el-Far'ah again became a true city at the end of the eighteenth century BC.[9] The rebuilt ramparts and gate continued through the Middle and Late Bronze, and Iron Ages, and while the Middle Bronze Age strata were badly preserved,[10] remains indicate that the Late Bronze Age continued to the middle of the thirteenth century BC. Though the dating of the transition from Late Bronze to Iron I is unclear, the Israelite strata (I, II, III) represented a long uninterrupted phase which was destroyed at the beginning of the ninth century BC and after a short term of resettlement, was completely abandoned. The eighth century saw the development of an urban proletariat residing around an administration center and separated from a poor quarter of small houses by a long straight wall. The pottery of this period is very similar to that found at Megiddo and Samaria, but is to be distinguished from the corresponding period in southern Palestine, suggesting two distinct archaeological regions corresponding to the two political kingdoms.[11] A destruction level may indicate the capture and destruction of the city by the Assyrians in 723 BC, when the town was dismantled, the city gate blocked and an unprotected entrance cut into the rampart.[12] This open settlement experienced a steady decline under its foreign residents and was finally abandoned about 600 BC.[13]

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[6] Preliminary excavation reports appeared in Revue Biblique, Vol. LIV (1947) pp. 394-433, 573-89; Vol. LV (1948) pp. 544-80; Vol. LVI (1949) pp. 102-38; Vol. LVIII (1951) pp. 393-430, 566-90; Vol. LIX (1952 pp. 551-83; Vol. LVII (1955) pp. 541-89; Vol. LXIV (1957) pp 552-80; Vol. LXVII (1960) pp. 393-430; Vol. LXIX (1962) pp. 212-53.

[7] The first season was conducted from June 1 to July 28 and September 15 to October 14, 1946.

[8] Not to be confused with Tell el-Far'ah in southern Palestine excavated by Sir W.M. Flinders Petrie.

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[9] Q.D.A.P., Vol. XIII (1948) pp. 167-8.

[10] R. de Vaux, "The Excavations at Tel el-Far'ah and the Site of Ancient Tirzah." P.E.Q., Vol. 88 (1956) pp. 125-140.

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[11] Ibid., p. 134.

[12] Ibid., p. 135. Cf., John Gray, "Tell el-Far'a by Nablus: A "Mother" in Ancient Israel" P.E.Q., Vol. 84 (1952) p. 113.

[13] The foreign population is identified by Assyrian pottery which belonged either to the conquerors or the colonists they settled there.

Despite the unrest, isolated excavations also continued elsewhere. In Wadi al-Tin, southeast of Bethlehem, a burial grotto and cave, which had earlier been explored by R. Neuville, was excavated by L.H. Vincent. Two distinct periods of occupation were uncovered. Hand-moulded, imperfectly-fired ceramic remains from the last phase of the Chalcolithic period (fourth-third millenium BC) found in the earthen ledge outside the cave entrance, suggested a period when cave-dwellers began moving into the open air and using the cave only for storage and burials. Later, during the Middle Bronze period (II), the cave was again used for burials.[14] The most-northerly site yielding a full variety of early Ghassulian wares, including flint and basalt weapons, tools, agricultural implements, basalt vases, mortars, saddle-qerns, etc., was excavated by Father J. Nasrallah at Dera'a, probably to be identified with Biblical Edrei in the Bashan.[15]

During the autumn of 1950, the American School of Oriental research at Jerusalem conducted scientific excavation on the site of the Moabite city of Dibon,[16] three miles north of Wadi Majib and thirteen miles east of the Dead Sea. The excavations continued through 1956, with the exception of the 1953-54 season.[17] In the occupational history, the Early Bronze Age strata (I, II, III) were followed by a lengthy hiatus indicated by the absence of Middle and Late Bronze materials.[18] The Moabite Period, which parallels Iron I and II, with heavy occupation was again followed by a period of abandonment of the site. The Nabatean resettlement at the beginning of the Christian era initiated another span of occupation which was broken by the final abandonment in the late Arab times.[19]

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[14] A.J.A., Vol. 52 (1948) p. 278. Cf., Revue Biblique, Vol. LIV (1947) pp. 269-282.

[15] A.J.A., Vol. 52 (1948) pp. 457-8. Cf., Revue Biblique, Vol. LV (1948) pp. 81-103.

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[16] "The Excavations at Dibon (Dhībân) in Moab," Part I: the First Campaign (1950-1951) by Fred V. Winnett, pp. 1-30; Part II: The Second Campaign (1952) by William L. Reed, pp. 37-79. A.A.S.O.R., Vol. XXXVI-XXXVII (1957-1958). A.S.O.R.: New Haven, 1964.

[17] A sounding during November, 1950 was followed by excavation on a larger scale during April and May, 1951. The staff consisted of F.V. Winnett, as Director, J.B. Pritchard, Assistant Director (during November), D.C. Baramki, Archaeologist, and others. During April and May 1952, excavation was directed by W.L. Reed, and during October and November 1952 and April and May 1953, by A. Douglas Tushingham.

[18] The occupational history therefore is in general agreement with N. Glueck's findings in his surface surveys of the region which seemed to demonstrate that during the Middle and Late Bronze periods sedentary life was in a state of decline.

[19] F.V. Winnett, "Excavation at Dibon in Moab, 1950-1951" B.A.S.O.R., No. 125 (1952) pp. 7-20; A.D. Tushingham, "Excavation at Dibon in Moab, 1952-53" B.A.S.O.R., No. 133 (1954), pp. 6-25; Cf., A.J.D.A., Vol. II (1953) pp. 86-7; B.A.S.O.R., No. 138 (1955) pp. 29-34; No. 146 (1957) pp. 6-10.

Minor excavations in Jordan included the recovery of five hundred vessels from an Iron Age tomb at el-Jib,[20] and the clearing of a Hyksos tomb at Kalandia, where Middle Bronze II pottery with metallic forms and rich burnished slip was paralleled with finds at Tel Beit Mirsim E, Megiddo XII and XI, and Jericho III.[21]

3. Archaeological Activity, 1950 to 1955

While excavations were continuing at two important sites in Jordan at Tel el-Far'ah and Dibon, three additional major excavations were begun at Jericho, Dothan and Bethel.

From 1952 to 1958, the fourth series of archaeological researches and excavations[22] were directed by Miss Kathleen Kenyon at the site of ancient Jericho, Tell es-Sultan, where soundings were conducted on all parts of the tell to trace the occupational history of the site.[23] From a Mesolithic beginning about 8000 BC, Jericho developed into a complete Neolithic town within a millenium. The pre-pottery city of the sixth millenium was followed by a pottery Neolithic culture which reverted into a semi-nomadic occupation with flimsy, partly sunken huts. In the Early Bronze Age Jericho became a closely built-up settlement within city walls which during the period from circa. 3000 to 2300 BC experienced no less than seventeen successive stages of rebuilding. A continuous succession of town levels from about 1900 BC point to one continuous culture through the first stage of Middle Bronze Age Jericho early in the sixteenth century, possibly connected with the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt. The destruction of Middle Bronze Age Jericho was followed by a period of abandonment, which, suggested by the complete absence of pottery, lasted during the second half of the sixteenth century and the fifteenth century BC. Clear evidence from excavated tombs and limited Late Bronze Age pottery on the tell indicated the existence of a Late Bronze village, though evidence for the dating of this final Bronze Age stage was not very great. A tomb provided some evidence for a ninth century occupation, and Jericho again became a town with a large scale occupation during the seventh century. This town was destroyed during the Babylonian invasion at the beginning of the sixth century BC, and was the last town on the site.[24]

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[20] A.J.D.A., Vol. II (1953) pp. 66-74.

[21] Ibid., pp. 75-7.

[22] Covering an area of ten acres with occupational debris to a maximum depth of up to seventy feet, Tell es-Sultan has a hundred year history of archaeological endeavor. Sir Charles Warren concluded, on the basis of thirty-foot deep shafts he had dug into the mound in 1867, that nothing could be found on the site. In 1907-09 an Austro-German expedition carried out a large-scale excavation the findings of which proved unreliable as a result of original, but questionable, dating methods. From 1930 to 1936, J. Garstang on behalf of the Neilson Expedition of the University of Liverpool, excavating on an even larger scale, though erroneously identifying the Israelite destruction level, very importantly identified the pre-pottery levels beneath the Early Bronze remains.

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[23] Excavations were conducted on behalf of the British school of Archaeology in Jerusalem, the Palestine Exploration Fund, and the British Academy, with collaboration during some seasons from the American School of Oriental Research and the Royal Ontario Museum.

Through interest created by the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the excavation of Khirbet Qumran, explorations in Wadi el-Marabaat led to the excavation of a number of caves, two of which contained disturbed levels from Chalcolithic to Arab periods.[25]

Dothan (Tell Dôthã), a 10-acre mound thirteen miles north of Shechem on the main ancient caravan route from Damascus to Egypt, became the site of a series of excavations by the Wheaton Archaeological Expedition directed by Joseph P. Free in

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[24] Herodian and Roman Jericho developed a mile to the south on Wadi Qelt. Arab, Crusader, Medieval and Turkish Jericho again used the waters of Ain es-Sultan about one mile to the southeast. Preliminary reports of excavations are found in the Palestine Exploration Quarterly: (Excavation, January 1952) Vol. 84 (1952) pp. 62-82; (December 1952 to April 1953) Vol. 85 (1953) pp. 81-95; (January to April 1954) Vol. 86 (1954) pp 45-63; (January to April 1955) Vol. 87 (1955) pp. 108-117; (January to April 1956) Vol. 88 (1956) pp. 67-82; (March, 1957) Vol. 89 (1957) pp. 101-107; October 1957 to February 1958-Final season) Vol. 92 (1960) pp. 88-108.

[25] "Excavation in Jordan, 1951-52," A.J.D.A., Vol. II (1953) pp. 82-85.

1953.[26] Following the initial occupational level at the end of the Chalcolithic period (circa. 3000 BC), successive layers of Early, Middle and Late Bronze, Iron I and Iron II, and Hellenistic settlements demonstrated the continuous importance of the site.[27]

During the early part of 1953, the Jordan Department of Antiquities carried out an archaeological survey in the Yarmuk and Jordan Valleys, under the supervision of G. Lankester Harding, James Mellaart, and Henri de Contenson with soundings to determine stratigraphy at a number of sites.[28] Tell esh-Shuneh soundings revealed at least six occupational levels, Middle Chalcolithic, Late Chalcolithic, Early Bronze I, II, and III (Khirbet Kerak), and Medieval Arab, and an upper disturbed level. Two soundings at Tell Abu Habil on the eastern bank of the Jordan recovered only Chalcolithic culture remains with some pottery development. Late Middle Chalcolithic remains were found at Tell es-Saidiyeh el-Taḥta. A widely scattered settlement representing a Neolithic culture distinct from that of Jericho IX and the so-called Yarmukian from Sha'ar ha-Golan was studied at Ghrubba.[29] A neolithic site was studied at Wadi el Yabis in the Jordan Valley between Deir 'Alla and Khirbet esh-Shuneh.[30] A cave at Araqub el-Dhahr yielded completely mixed burial remains from the Chalcolithic-Early Bronze I period and the Early Bronze III period about 500 years later.[31] The excavation of a small temple near the new Amman airport led to the recovery of Middle Bronze II to Late Bronze remains and, for the first time in Transjordan, of imported Mycenean ware and Cypriote milk-bowls.[32]

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[26] Preliminary excavation reports are found in the Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research: No. 131 (1953) pp. 16-20; No. 135 (1954) pp. 14-20; No. 139 (1955) pp. 3-9; No. 143 (1956) pp. 11-17. Cf., A.J.D.A., No. 3 (1954) pp. 79,80.

[27] The Roman-Byzantine city of Dothan lay on the plain surrounding the spring and on the lower slopes of the tell.

[28] Henri de Contenson, "Three Soundings in the Jordan Valley" A.J.D.A., Vol. IV (1960) pp. 12-98.

Following soundings in 1927 by W.F. Albright and full-scale excavations during 1934 by W.F. Albright and J.L. Kelso, archaeological examination of Tell Beitin (Bethel) was continued by Professor Kelso in 1954 for the Pittsburgh-Xenia Theological Seminary and the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem.[33] Occupation which began in the Early Bronze-Middle Bronze period continued until the well-built Late Bronze city was destroyed during the thirteenth century B.C.[34] Two extremely poor occupation levels are then followed by a city of the ninth century of finer workmanship, probably to be associated with Jeroboam I. The city was again burned in the sixth century B.C., possibly by the armies of Nebuchadnezzar. A poor village developed on the site during Persian times.[35]

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[29] James Mellaart, "The Neolithic Site of Ghrubba" A.J.D.A., Vol. III (1954) pp. 24-33. Ghrubba seems to form a link with Mersim and other sites of Cilicia, and has a strong northern influence which is not present at Jericho and Sha'ar ha-Golan.

[30] D.V.W. Kirkbride, "A Neolithic Site at Wadi El Yabis." A.J.D.A., Vol. III (1956) pp. 56-60.

[31] Peter J. Parr, "A Cave at Araqub el Dhahr." A.J.D.A., Vol. III (1956) pp. 61-73. The pottery of this community showed closer relations with Southern Judean culture than with that of the Esdraelon Plain.

[32] "Excavations in Jordan, 1953-1954" A.J.D.A., Vol. III (1954) p. 80. Excavated by M.M. Saleh for the Jordan Department of Antiquities.

4. Archaeological Activity, 1956 to 1960

With the gradual increase of archaeological interest in Jordan from 1950, five large-scale expeditions, sponsored by foreign institutions, brought archaeological activity to a peak in 1955-56. While excavation continued at Tell el-Far'ah,

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[33] James L. Kelso, "The Second Campaign at Bethel." B.A.S.O.R., No. 137 (1955) pp. 5-10.

[34] Prof. Albright attributes this destruction level, which in some areas reaches a depth of five feet, to the Israelite conquest.

[35] Following Vespasian's capture of the area in 69 AD, the town flourished until the time of the Arab conquest.

Dothan and Jericho, work was initiated at Tell el-Jib and Tell Balaṭa (biblical Shechem) near Nablus. J.L. Kelso conducted two additional campaigns at Beitin, further clarifying aspects of the Middle Bronze, Iron Age, and Hellenistic occupations on the site. Meanwhile, excavations at Deir 'Alla, Seyl 'Aqlat, and Beth-zur were similarly important.

After studying the site and formulating plans in 1955, J.B. Pritchard directed a series of excavations on the 16-acre mound of Tell el-Jib (ancient Gibeon).[36] Remains of house walls, pottery and tombs indicated that the city was occupied during the Early, Middle and Late Bronze periods. The excavation of the necropolis during the 1960 and 1962 seasons demonstrated that the tombs were originally cut during the Middle Bronze I period and reused during Middle Bronze IIB (seventeenth century BC) and Late Bronze Age (fifteenth to fourteenth centuries BC).[37] Gibeon was a thriving city during Iron Ages I and II with well-constructed stone houses, ovens, and two impressive stone walls, the first built during the twelfth century BC, and the second continuing in use from the tenth to the end of the seventh century BC. Other significant results of the excavations include the discovery of a great cylindrical pool measuring thirty-seven feet in diameter and 82 feet in depth, a stepped water tunnel penetrating 167 feet to a spring eighty feet below the surface of the mound, a collection of inscriptions and royal stamps on jar handles which is an important contribution to Near Eastern epigraphy, and an industrial complex containing numerous winepresses, fermenters, and sixty-three cellars which served as storage areas for the wine.[38] Portions of the site were occupied in the first century BC and in the Byzantine and Arab times.[39]

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[36] Five seasons were conducted (1956, 1957, 1959, 1960, and 1962), and sponsored by the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania and the Church Divinity School of the Pacific, in Berkeley, Calif. (during the first two seasons.)

[37] The Early Bronze Age and Iron Age cemeteries were not found, though evidence of burials during those periods were found in a cave on the east side of the city.

The initial identification of Shechem by Herman Thiersch in 1903 was confirmed during the fall and spring of 1913-14 when Ernst Sellin uncovered a portion of a cyclopean wall and the large three-entry gate at Tel Balaṭah, a comparatively small ten to twelve-acre mound near Nablus. New expeditions continued excavation from 1926 to 1934 under the successive direction of Ernst Sellin, G. Welter and H. Steckeweh.[40]

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[38] The excavators estimated that the entire installation was capable of storing 25,000 U.S. gallons of wine in jars.

[39] Preliminary reports by Professor Pritchard are to be found in: B.A.S.O.R., No. 160 (1960) pp. 2-6; B.A., Vol. 19 (1956) pp. 66-75; Vol. 23 (1960) pp. 23-29; Vol. 24 (1961) pp. 19-24. Final excavation reports are to be found in Museum Monographs, the University of Pennsylvania, entitled:
Hebrew Inscriptions and Stamps from Gibeon, 1959.
The Water System of Gibeon, 1961.
The Bronze Age Cemetery at Gibeon, 1963.
Winery, Defences and Soundings at Gibeon, 1964; and in,
Gibeon, Where the Sun Stood Still, The Discovery of the Biblical City, 1962.

In 1956 Professor G.E. Wright began a new series of excavations sponsored by Drew University, McCormick Theological Seminary, and the American Schools of Oriental Research. Though a fairly large Chalcolithic village existed on the site during the fourth millenium BC, the development of the city began during the Middle Bronze IIA period (circa. 1800 BC), when an area was levelled for a succession of temples, and later surrounded by a brick wall. When the city and temple were seriously damaged during the MB IIC period, repairs included the strengthening of fortifications on the north and east sides of the tell. In the middle of the sixteenth century BC, Shechem, together with all other Palestinian cities, was violently destroyed.[41] After an occupational hiatus, the city with its fortress temple and the fortifications were rebuilt with a reorientation of the temple. Late Bronze Age Shechem was not destroyed during the thirteenth century as Lachish and Debir in the south and Hazor in Galilee but seems to have passed peacefully into Israelite hands.[42] The violent destruction of the city in the twelfth century BC was identified with Abimelech's destruction of the city in revenge for the revolt against his rule. In the second half of the tenth century BC during the Solomonic period, Shechem was newly built as a provincial capital and administrative center. Stratum X, the Solomonic city, was destroyed possibly by Pharaoh Shishak in the fifty year of the reigns of Jeroboam and Rehoboam. The solidly-built city of the first part of the ninth century BC was badly burned after either an earthquake or enemy action.[43] The rebuilding was probably destroyed by Hazael (circa. 810 BC). While prosperous during the first half of the eighth century BC, the city rapidly deteriorated during the third quarter under the Assyrian pressure which impoverished Israel. After the city was destroyed by the Assyrian army in 724-23 BC, the poorly rebuilt seventh-century town experienced two destructions, one possibly during a reconquest of Israel by Josiah (*circa*, 628-622 BC). During the following occupation the deterioration seemingly continued until about 485 to 475 BC when the tell was abandoned for a century and a half, until the Samaritans revived it and attempted to make it a rival of Jerusalem.[44]

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[40] G. Ernest Wright, Shechem: The Biography of a Biblical City. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1965. pp. 1-34.

[41] There is evidence of a double destruction during the reigns of Amosis and Amenophis I, the first two pharoahs of the Eighteenth Dynasty. G.E. Wright, "Shechem" in Archaeology and Old Testament Study, edited by D. Winton Thomas. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967. pp. 361-2.

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[42] James F. Ross and Lawrence E. Toombs, "Three Campaigns at Biblical Shechem." Archaeology, Vol. 14 (1961) pp. 171-9. (The biblical record says nothing about warfare in relation to Shechem. However, a tradition about a covenant of 'all the tribes of Israel' at Shechem (Joshua 24), and the archaeological evidence suggest that the kingdom of Shechem, the whole north-central hill-country, became a part of the Israelite confederacy through treaty and not conquest.)

[43] Probably the military action of Ben-Hadad I of Damascus, circa. 865 and 855 BC.

Excavations of Khirbet et-Tubeiqah, about four and a half miles north of Hebron, were continued by O.R. Sellers in 1957.[45] Identified as the biblical Beth-zur, the city, founded with massive "Hyksos" fortifications during the seventeenth century BC, was destroyed in the fifteenth century, possibly during the invasion of Thutmose III, and remained unoccupied until after the Israelite invasion. In the twelfth century the Israelites began reusing the earlier constructions. When the site was destroyed in the middle of the eleventh century BC, possibly by the Philistines, the mound was again deserted.

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[44] G.E. Wright, "The Samaritans at Shechem." *The Harvard Theological Review*, Vol. 55 (1962) pp. 357-366. Preliminary reports of excavations appeared in: *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 144 (1956) pp. 9-20; No. 148 (1957) pp. 11-28; No. 161 (1961) pp. 11-54; No. 169 (1963) pp. 1-60.

[45] The site was first excavated in a series of campaigns beginning in 1930 by W.F. Albright and O.R. Sellers on behalf of the A.S.O.R. in Jerusalem. (O.R. Sellers and W.F. Albright, "The First Campaign of Excavation at Beth-zur" *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 43 (1931) pp. 2-13.)

The reoccupation during the eighth and seventh centuries seemingly came to an end with Nebuchadnezzar's invasion, and there is little evidence of occupation during the Persian period.[46]

In the autumn of 1958, Miss D. Kirkbride began three seasons of excavations at Seyl Aqlat in Wadi el-Beidha north of Petra to determine the relationship of this village to pre-pottery Neolithic B culture at Jericho.[47] Originally discovered in 1956, the site contained four superimposed villages. The earliest stratum, Mesolithic culture is Lower Natufian and comparable to Mugharet el-Wad level B2 with some local differerences.[48] Above two meters of sterile sand, the Neolithic villages with semi-subterranean buildings (all with three descending stone steps), headless adult burials, plastered floors, similarity of flint, ground-stone and bone implements and querns, suggest a parallel culture of pre-pottery Neolithic B found at Jericho.[49] A Carbon 14 date of about 6,790 plus or minus 200 years similarly agrees with dates at Jericho.[50]

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[46] O.R. Sellers, "The 1957 Campaign at Beth-zur." B.A., Vol. 21 (1958) pp. 71-76. Beth-zur was a strategic fortress on the frontier between Judea and Idumea during the Hellenistic period.

[47] Conducted under the auspices of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem and the Jordan Department of Antiquities.

[48] D. Kirkbride, "The Excavation of a Neolithic Village at Seyl Aqlat, Beidha, near Petra." P.E.Q., Vol. 92 (1960) pp. 136-145.

Deir 'Alla, generally identified with biblical Succoth,[51] was the site of a series of excavations by a Dutch expedition directed by H.J. Franken. Deep soundings demonstrated that initial settlement came during the Chalcolithic period. More than fifteen hundred years later, Late Bronze inhabitants levelled the hill to provide a larger building area.[52] The evidences of a strong Middle Bronze influence in their ceramic remains suggest that these settlers arrived on the site early in the Late Bronze period.[53] A massive destruction of the city occurred during the thirteenth century with a seeming immediate reoccupation of the site.[54] However, both the culture and cult of the Iron Age appeared a-typical of Israelite towns. Archaeological evidence seemed to show that the earliest inhabitants of the Iron Age did not live permanently on the tell but came annually to work the metal furnaces when climatic conditions permitted.[55]

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[49] The individual rectangular houses with rounded corners, plastered walls and floors, and yards outside, of the fourth village bear a strong resemblance to Jericho houses of this period. Buildings similar to the corridor units of the second and third villages have not been found at Jericho.

[50] D. Kirkbride, "Excavation of the Pre-pottery Neolithic Village at Seyl Aqlat, Beidha." A.J.D.A., Vols. VI and VII (1962) pp. 7-12.

[51] Neither geographical position nor archaeological evidence make the identification certain.

[52] Chalcolithic ceramic remains were found in these disturbed areas. This Chalcolithic settlement, as has been demonstrated on other sites in Jordan (Cf. Ghassul, 'Ain Duq, Tell Abu el 'Alayiq. Tell Mefjer, etc.), was not followed by inhabitants of the Early Bronze Age.

[53] Since Deir 'Alla is the first Late Bronze city to be excavated in Trans-Jordan, very little is known of this period. These settlers could have been a group related to the Hyksos who were expelled from territory under Egyptian control.

5. Archaeological Activity, 1961 to 1965

Archaeological activity reached an all-time high. During the years 1960 to 1962, eleven foreign archaeological expeditions were conducting excavations in Jordan with the cooperation of the Jordan Department of Antiquities. Institutions representing the British, Dutch, French and Americans were involved in work at Dhaiqa and el-Beidha, Jericho and Petra, Deir 'Alla, Tell el-Far'ah, Jerusalem, Dothan, Balaṭa, el-Jib, Tuleilat Ghassul, Beitin, and 'Araq el-Emir. The Germans were again demonstrating interest through the German Evangelical

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[54] H.J. Franken, "The Excavations at Deir 'Allā in Jordan (2nd season)." Vetus Testamentum, Vol. XI (1961) pp. 361-372 pl. 1-23. "...the blackened remains of a faience jar bearing part of an Egyptian hieroglyphic inscription with the cartouche of Ramses II ...gives us a terminus post quem of ca. 1350 BC, and shows that Deir 'Alla fits into the normal pattern of a 13th century destruction." (p. 365).

[55] idem., "Excavations at Deir 'Allā in Jordan (3rd season)," Vetus Testamentum, Vol. XII (1962) pp. 378-382.

Institute for Archaeology of the Holy Land which began conducting annual seminars in Jordan. And, during 1963 and 1964 the initial campaigns of four new projects were conducted at Ta'anach, Hebron, et-Tell, and Tell es-Sa'idiyeh. These can only demonstrate the continuing growth of interest in Palestinian archaeology generally.[56]

A joint expedition of American theological schools and the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem directed by P. Lapp conducted a sounding and excavation at 'Araq el-Emir, seventeen kilometers WSW of Amman.[57] Chalcolithic and Early Bronze sherds represented the earliest occupations of the site. Middle Bronze I and IIA strata without structures were followed by a gap in occupation which lasted until the eleventh century (Stratum IV). This gap in occupation would seem to conform with the commonly held view that Transjordan had little or no sedentary occupation between the nineteenth and thirteenth centuries BC. The Iron Age I stratum from the eleventh century may be associated with the Gadites.[58] Excavation has indicated that 'Araq el-Emir is an excellent site for the clarification of Persian and Early Hellenistic stratification.[59]

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[56] Farah S. Ma'ayah, "Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Jordan." A.J.D.A., Vol. VI and VII (1962) pp. 104, 105.

[57] The Graduate School of Concordia Seminary in St. Louis represented by A. von Rohr Sauer, Bethany Biblical Seminary in Chicago, represented by D. Wieand, and Iliff School of Theology in Denver, represented by W. Williams. (Sounding from April 10 to May 5 and excavation from September 4 to October 20, 1961.)

The annual surface exploration by the German Evangelical Institute for Archaeology of the Holy Land during the summer of 1961 were directed by E. Kushke and suggested a number of solutions to biblical topographical problems.[60]

The 1961 Miss Kathleen M. Kenyon, for the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, R. de Vaux for the École Biblique et Archeologique de St. Étienne, and A.D. Tushingham for the Royal Ontario Museum,[61] began a large scale excavation in Jerusalem which was projected to continue to 1967.[62] The purpose of the excavations was to establish by stratigraphical evidence the dates of structures which previously had been dated by historical probability[63] and to trace the growth and development of the city from Canaanite to New Testament times.[64]

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[58] The discovery of Iron I remains made it possible to suggest 'Araq el-Emir as the most likely site for identification with Ramath-mizpeh in Joshua 13:26.

[59] Paul Lapp, "The 1961 Excavations at 'Araq el-Emir." A.J.D.A., Vol. VI and VII (1962) pp. 80-89.

[60] E. Kushke, "New Contributions to the Historical Topography of Jordan." A.J.D.A., Vol. VI and VII (1962) pp. 90-95.

[61] Joined the excavation during the second season.

[62] First season from mid-May to mid-August, 1961.

The 1961 excavations indicated that a tower which had formerly been attributed to David and Solomon in the defenses of the crest above the spring Gihon was no earlier than the second century BC (circa. 150 BC), and while occupation on the crest was mainly from the seventh century BC, the lower end of the excavation trench cleared a wall dating to circa. 1800 BC. The so-called 'Jebusite bastion' on the crest was discovered to be the ruins of the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in 588 BC. Excavation along the slope further showed that massive built-up terraces had greatly extended the building (residential) area to a defense wall of the tenth century, possibly of the Davidic period.[65]

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[63] Though Edward Robinson, an American professor, and Conrad Schick, a German architect, working independently, made significant scientific records concerning the city of Jerusalem, it was the Palestine Exploration Fund which from 1867 to 1870, under the direction of Charles Warren, began excavations. Excavations were continued between 1894 and 1897 by F.J. Bliss and A.C. Dickie; between 1923 and 1925 by R.A.S. Macalister and J.G. Duncan, and in 1927 by J.W. Crowfoot and G.M. FitzGerald.

[64] Kathleen M. Kenyon, "Excavations in Jerusalem, 1961." P.E.Q., Vol. 94 (1962) pp. 72-89.

With the completion of the first two seasons of excavation, it had been established that the Bronze Age city of the Jebusites, which David captured about 1000 BC, was south of the present Old City, running along the eastern ridge, on Ophel, above the Kidron Valley. The wall from the Jebusite period was discovered low on the slope and continued from 1800 BC to the seventh century BC when it was replaced by another wall higher on the slope.[66]

Tell Ta'anach, the site of a Canaanite and Israelite city, rising one hundred and fifty feet above the southern Esdraelon Plain, with a summit covering eleven acres, was first excavated by Ernst Sellin in 1902-4. In 1963 a projected series of excavations were begun by a joint expedition under the direction of Paul Lapp.[67] Mentioned first in Pharoah

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[65] This wall was built on an older massively-built wall of rough boulders and filling which contained MB II sherds. (perhaps the wall of the Canaanite town), indicating that the town of the Canaanite and Davidic periods inhabited a much larger area than had previously been thought possible. K. Kenyon, "Excavations in Jerusalem, 1961 (First Season)." A.J.D.A., Vol. VI and VII (1962) pp. 114-123.

[66] Kathleen M. Kenyon, "Excavations in Jerusalem, 1963." P.E.Q., Vol. 96 (1964) pp. 7-18; "Excavations in Jerusalem, 1964." P.E.Q., Vol. 97 (1965) pp. 9-20.

[67] Sponsored by the Concordia Theological Seminary and the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem.

Thutmose III's record of his battle at Megiddo and his later conquest of the city, Ta'anach became a settled city during the Early Bronze Age. Five feet of occupational debris, three fortification systems on the south and two on the west pointed to a flourishing economy, dated by Khirbet Kerak ware and other characteristic pottery during the twenty-seventh and twenty-sixth centuries BC.[68]

Destroyed about 2500 BC, Ta'anach, during the next eight hundred years, may have been occupied periodically by semi-nomadic groups. During the later Middle Bronze Age (MB IIC, 1650-1550 BC), Ta'anach was rebuilt with a series of earthen glacis foundations, but came to an abrupt end during one of the campaigns of Thutmose III, probably in 1468 BC in connection with the battle of Megiddo.[69] The continuation of the Late Bronze Age into the latter part of the twelfth century before its violent destruction suggested that Ta'anach together with Megiddo and Beth-shan did not succomb to the earlier conquest of other cities in the central hill country by the Israelites in the latter part of the thirteenth century BC, and that the destruction level at Ta'anach coincided with the Israelite victory over the Canaanites about 1125 BC. Three occupational phases from the period of the United Monarchy[70] came to an end, possibly at the hands of Pharaoh Shishak I, about 918 BC. Archaeological remains indicated a sizable occupation during the seventh and sixth centuries and scattered occupation in the Persian period (fifth and fourth centuries BC).[71]

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[68] Two parallel walls on the west side of the city with an intervening passageway of which the outer wall fell into disuse with the widening of the inner one, have construction parallels at Tell el-Far'ah, ai, and Byblos.

[69] Archaeological excavation has not indicated whether Ta'anach was destroyed during the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt.

Following a preliminary survey in 1963, a joint American expedition to Hebron was directed by P.C. Hammond, assisted by J.H. Hayes.[72] While excavation has demonstrated the occupational accumulation on the site to represent forty-four hundred years of history, the extent of settlement during specific periods is still unclear.[73] It was clear that the site was settled as early as the Late Chalcolithic period (circa. 3200 BC) and during the Early Bronze I period (circa. 3100 to 2900 BC). Following Middle Bronze I and II settlements, the site was abandoned, with only spasmodic camping, until the second half of the Iron Age (after circa. 900 BC). Remains of two-story houses with thick plastered clay floors and Iron Age II sherds represented this period. Occupation continued intermittently through the Late Roman and Byzantine periods.[74]

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[70] In the tenth century BC when Ta'anach was named as one of the cities in Solomon's administrative district for the Esdraelon Plain.

[71] Paul Lapp, "The 1963 Excavation at Ta'annek." B.A.S.O.R., No. 173 (1964) pp. 4-44. Cf., W.F. Albright, "A Prince of Taanach in the Fifteenth Century BC." Ibid., No. 94 (1944) pp. 12-27.

[72] This association of five American institutions included Princeton Seminary, University of Southern California, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Luther Theological Seminary, and Virginia Theological Seminary.

[73] Jebel er-Rumeide, across the valley from the Mosque of Ibrahim, contained at least nineteen phases of occupation, seven of them structural. In another area seven meters of debris had twelve phases, while a third area had forty-eight strata during eleven occupational phases.

Twenty-eight years after the end of excavations by Judith Marquet-Krause, excavations at et-Tell were resumed in 1964 under the direction of Joseph A. Callaway of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary.[75] Two phases of Iron Age I buildings which were confined to the upper terraces of the tell and unfortified suggested that the small settlement may have been dependent for military security on a nearby Iron Age city, but excavation during the first year provided no new evidence for the solution of the biblical problem concerning Joshua's conquest of Ai.[76]

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[74] Philip C. Hammond, "David's First City - The Excavation of Biblical Hebron, 1964." The Princeton Seminary Bulletin, Vol. 63 (1965) pp. 19-28.

[75] Conducted from May 4 to June 24, 1964.

[76] "Notes and News" P.E.Q., Vol. 97 (1965) pp. 3-4; J.A. Callaway, "The 1964 Ai (Et-Tell) Excavations," B.A.S.O.R., No. 178 (1965) pp. 13-40.

Early in 1964, J.B. Pritchard directed a two-month excavation at Tel es-Sa'idiyeh, a double mound, on the plain east of the River Jordan and midway between the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea.[77] Covering an area of twenty-five acres and rising one hundred and thirty-eight feet above the plain, the site was possibly first settled during the Neolithic Age. Preceded by Early and Late Bronze occupations, the earliest phases of Iron Age I appeared at the end of the tenth century with the development of a carefully-planned city with a unique tunnel passageway leading to the water supply outside the walled city. The site was last inhabited about eight hundred BC when it was surrounded by a seventeen foot-wide casemate wall.[78]

While World War II, the Arab-Jewish clashes which led to the Arab-Israeli war, and the partition of the country were equally disruptive in the areas which ultimately became Jordan and Israel, in the early years following the establishment of the State of Israel, Jordan enjoyed a distinct advantage in that the facilities of the Rockefeller Museum and the headquarters of all but one of the foreign institutions were situated within its territory. However, for the sponsorship of excavation and trained personnel the country was largely dependent upon outside help, and fortunately this became increasingly available. By 1965 institutions representing the British, Dutch, French, Germans and Americans were annually fielding expeditions at sites throughout the country. At least twenty major excavations had been conducted pertaining to the early (pre-Christian) periods of Near Eastern history, together with soundings and salvage operations. The extensive involvement of American institutions of higher learning in archaeological excavation, not only in Jordan, but also in Israel, as will be shown, indicates the profound interest in the cultural history of the Near East. Though the importance of this endeavor will be seen fully only through the perspective of delayed retrospect, the picture of historical developments within the area, and consequently biblical history, was being rapidly brought into focus, largely through the efforts of the archaeologist and those who study his findings.

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[77] Tentatively identified by Albright as Zaphon and by Glueck as Zarethan.

[78] James B. Pritchard, "Excavation at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh (Preliminary Report)." A.J.D.A., Vol. VIII and IX (1964) pp. 95-98; Cf. P.E.Q., Vol. 96 (1964) pp. 65-69.

III. ARCHAEOLOGICAL ACTIVITY IN PALESTINE AND ISRAEL, 1940 TO 1965

1. Archaeological Activity before Statehood

Archaeological activities throughout Palestine were limited by political disturbances for a number of years prior to 1940. The period of rioting beginning in 1936 and the resultant interference of general unrest and sabotage had produced a natural tapering off of archaeological excavation. With the outbreak of the war in 1939, paradoxically, comparative quiet settled over the country. However, owing to the disrupted communications outside Palestine, the scientific organizations found it impossible to continue old undertakings or to institute new ones of an archaeological nature. Increased activity in the area necessitated by the war effort, military undertakings such as air-raid shelters and air fields, fortifications and new roads, and ordinary building projects and ploughing of fields led to a rich variety of archaeological materials which stimulated anticipation of post-war excavation.

Dr. Benjamin Maisler, on behalf of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society, directed a small excavation at Kinnereth, near Khirbet el-Kerak in 1940. The pottery was dated to the middle of the Early Bronze Age (circa. 2500 BC) and indications of cremation in a grave linked the site to a similar custom at

Gezer.[1] During 1940 and 1941, Professor E.L. Sukenik, on behalf of the Hebrew University conducted the fourth and fifth campaigns at Tell ej-Jerisheh near Tel Aviv. Excavations suggested that the small settlement on the site in the third millenium BC was greatly expanded during the beginning of the second millenium, when a glacis, which continued through the Late Bronze Age, was constructed to fortify the site. During the Iron Age, only a small settlement existed on the southwest part of the tell and with its abandonment in the tenth or ninth century, the site was never reoccupied.[2]

Attention was focused on the recovery of the country's prehistory. During 1941, a series of soundings and excavations at Mugharet el-Watwat, Mugharet en-Nugtah (Ramleh subdistrict) and Mugharet Wadi Fellah, Mugharet Abu Usba' and Mugharet 'Iraq el-Barud on Mount Carmel were conducted by Dr. M. Stekelis on behalf of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, the British School of Egyptian Archaeology in Jerusalem and the

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[1] Nelson Glueck, Excavations in Palestine and Transjordan in 1940." A.J.A., Vol. 45 (1941), pp. 116, 117.

[2] Ibid.

Hebrew University.[3] Conservation work on behalf of the Hebrew University on the ninth-century B.C. Iron Age fort at Tell esh-Shuni at Tel Aviv led to the discovery of an outer rampart by Professor E.L. Sukenik.[4] Along the coast, Iron Age II graves at el-Khirbeh in the Jaffa district yielded Cypriote pottery. The Palestine Department of Antiquities excavated a necropolis at Tell er-Reqeish, between Gaza and Khun Yunis, which yielded twenty-four jars, some containing cremated burials and Syro-Phoenician juglets. Middle and Late Bronze tombs were excavated at Dhaharet el-Hamraya, south of Jaffa. Middle Bronze pottery and silver and gold jewelry came from tombs on the north bank of the Wadi Rubin and a quarry nearby. In the north at ez-Zib,, the biblical Achzib, two Iron Age II cemeteries were excavated. In November 1941 and February 1942, twenty-three tombs, excavated in the el-Baqbaq cemetery and twelve outside the village of er-Ras, yielded Phoenician-type pottery dated to the seventh and sixth centuries by parallels in Palestine, Cyprus and Carthage. Trenches revealed Chalcolithic settlement below the Iron Age cemetery.[5]

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[3] The culture of Mugharet Abu Usba' was dated by Professor W.F. Albright as belonging to the latter part of the Neolithic Period and before the Late Chalcolithic Period (4500-3500 BC). Cf., B.A.S.O.R., No. 86 (1942) pp. 2-10, 14.

[4] N. Glueck, "Archaeological Activity in Palestine and Transjordan in 1941-1942." A.J.A., Vol. 47, (1943) p. 127.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 126-127, 130-131.

Within the triangle formed by the Yarmuk and Jordan Rivers and the Sea of Galilee, an archaeological survey by Professors B. Maisler, S. Yeivin and M. Stekelis led to the discovery of a new Neolithic culture, the Yarmukian, near Sha'ar ha-Golan.[6] The culture, largely self-sufficient, had a well-developed flint industry, a primitive textile industry, some woodworking and basketry, and though fishing and hunting were practiced, horticulture in its very primitive form was basic to the life of this Yarmuk community which had a lengthy, post-Mesolithic life (*circa*. 7000 BC).[7]

A major excavation under the direction of B. Maisler and M. Stekelis for the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society began in the winter of 1944-45 at the site of Khirbet el-Kerak on the southwestern shore of the Sea of Galilee where Professor Albright had earlier identified a distinct Early Bronze pottery (Khirbet Kerak Ware).[8] The earliest settlement lived in semi-subterranean huts and used the 'Esdraelon Culture' gray-burnished ware which is assigned to the transitional period from Late Chalcolithic to Early Bronze I. Levels II and III belonged to the Early Bronze I and II respectively, and Beth Yerah IV, which is the longest phase of occupation, is characterized by the Khirbet Kerak Ware and belongs to Early Bronze III (26 to 24 centuries BC, or the III-V Dynasties of Egypt). This stratum is separated by a thin layer of earth from the later Hellenistic houses and Roman camp.[9]

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[6] B. Maisler and S. Yeivin, "Provisional Report on an Exploration of the Northern Jordan Valley," and M. Stekelis, "On the Prehistoric Stations in the Jordan Valley." *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society*, Vol. 10, (1943) pp. 98-104.

[7] M. Stekelis, "A New Neolithic Industry: The Yarmukian of Palestine." *I.E.J.*, Vol. 1 (1950-51) pp. 1-19.

[8] December 1944 to May 1945. (The second season was directed by M. Stekelis and M. Avi-Yonah from December 1945 to July 1946.)

Excavation at Khirbet el-Kerak was discontinued following the second season from December 1945 to July 1946 by M. Stekelis and M. Avi-Yonah, until 1950,[10] when P.L.O. Guy and P. Bar-Adon, for the Israel Department of Antiquities, dug a deep cut into the southeastern extremity of the tell. Here twenty-three phases of occupation were identified by the archaeologists and divided into Early Bronze I (4), Early Bronze II (5), Early Bronze III (6), Middle Bronze I (3), Middle Bronze II (a tomb), and Persian Period.[11]

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[9] B. Maisler, M. Stekelis, and M. Avi-Yonah, "The Excavations at Beth Yeraḥ (Khirbet el-Kerak) 1944-1946." I.E.J., Vol. 2 (1952), pp. 165-173, pl. 9-11; pp. 218-229, pl. 17-19. Cf., Q.D.A.P., Vol. XIII (1948) pp. 168-170.

[10] February to June 1950.

[11] S. Yeivin, "Archaeological News- Israel." A.J.A., Vol. 55 (1951) pp. 83-4; Cf., "Notes and News," I.E.J., Vol. 2 (1952) p. 142; Vol. 3 (1953), p. 132; Vol. 4 (1954) pp. 128-129.

2. Establishment of Department of Antiquities and Renewed Archaeological Activity Following the Establishment of the State of Israel, 1948 to 1950.

Since all of the foreign archaeological institutions, with the exception of the Pontifical Biblical Institute, were situated in Jordan following the Arab-Israeli war, it was essential that a new Department of Antiquities be formed to provide directives for renewed scientific activities and to safeguard antiquities within the Israeli territory. The initial task of this new office, founded on July 27, 1948, shortly after the establishment of the State of Israel, was to organize administrative supervision and establish a new library, collect exhibits, and make auxiliary collections of photographs, maps and bibliographical materials. Even the library and collections of the Hebrew University Department of Archaeology and the Museum of Jewish Antiquities on Mount Scopus, within Jerusalem's "no man's land," were inaccessible for study and research. The materials of the Israel Exploration Society had similarly been housed on Mount Scopus or in the storerooms and laboratories of the Palestine Archaeological Museum. The Hebrew University, which was similarly adversely affected, expanded its Institute of Archaeology, and began excavating, partly on its own, and partly in cooperation with other archaeological bodies in Israel and abroad.

With the growth of interest in Palestinian archaeology, especially among the Israelis, the Staff of the newly-formed Department of Antiquities (which grew from eleven to over sixty-five in ten years) and its responsibilities were divided into six sections: Inspectorate, Conservation of Monuments, Archaeological survey and excavations, museum, archaeological archives and library, and research secretariat (research and publications). The Division of Survey and Excavation was immediately forced into a long series of salvage operations by the demands of development projects throughout the country. However, some of these soundings and exploratory excavations ultimately became large scale investigations of importance.[12]

The period 1946 to 1950 was marked by major excavations on three sites; Khirbet el-Kerak, Tell el-Far'ah,[13] and Tell Qasile.

The excavation of Tell Qasile marked the beginning of Israeli archaeology. On the northern bank of the Yarkon River just outside Tel Aviv, Tell Qasile was excavated from 1948 to 1950 by Professor Benjamin Mazar for the Israel Exploration

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[12] S. Yeivin, A Decade of Archaeology in Israel, 1948-1958. Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut in Het Nabije Oosten, 1960, pp. 1-3.

[13] Tell el-Far'ah in the North; not to be confused with the site of Sir F. Petrie's earlier excavation.

Society with the aid of Tel Aviv Municipality.[14] Founded by the Philistines, the site contained the remains of copper and iron smelting furnaces and was destroyed by fire at the beginning of the tenth century, possibly during David's conquest of the coastal plain. The Israelite settlement which followed was destroyed in the second half of the eighth century, possibly during the invasion of the northern and western provinces of Judah by the armies of Tiglath-pileser III. After an hiatus in occupation, a large building, probably serving as an administrative and economic center for the area, was constructed on the site and pottery found in its ruins was largely Persian, with some Attic sherds. Occupation on the site was continuous from Persian to Arab times.[15] From April 13 to May 20, 1947,

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[14] B. Mazar, "Excavation at Tell Qasile." B.A., Vol. XVI (1951) pp. 43-9.

[15] Idem., "The Excavations at Tell Qasile. Preliminary Report." I.E.J., Vol. 1 (1950-51) pp. 61-76, pl. 18-19; pp. 125-140, pl. 25-30; pp. 194-218.
The excavation of Tell Qasile was the third in a chain of ancient towns, villages and fortresses which give ample evidence of the continuous occupation and cultural development from the Neolithic to Arab period in the lower valley of the Yarkon River. Excavations at Tell el-Jerishe (also called Napoleon's Hill), a large tell near the mouth of Wadi Musrara on the south of the Yarkon, by the Museum of Jewish Antiquities of the Hebrew University revealed the remains of the Middle Bronze to Early Iron Age town. Cf., E.L. Sukenik, "Excavations in Palestine, 1933-4; Tell el-Jerishe." Q.D.A.P., Vol. 4 (1934) pp. 208-9. Tell el-Kudadi, a small tell only about 1750 meters from Tell Qasile and north of the Yarkon estuary, belonged to the Middle Iron Age and was a Kingdom of Israel stronghold which supposedly guarded the mouth of the Yarkon against invaders and sea-robbers. The upper strata contained remains of the Persian and Roman-Byzantine periods. Cf., Q.D.A.P., Vol. 8 (1938), pp. 167-8.

Professor I. Ben-Dor excavated a small tell at Nahariya which contained a single building, a Middle Bronze II temple with an abundance of incense burners,[16] clay figurines, and miniature vases and bowls which clearly suggested the sacred character of the building.[17] The ceramic remains, characterized by the Tell el-Yehudiyeh ware, was mainly of the MB IIB period (late 18th or 17th centuries BC).[18]

Archaeological work on Israeli soil by non-Israeli archaeologists began in 1950. During August and September of that year, R. Neuville, the French Consul at Jerusalem, and J. Perrot of the Centre national de la recherche scientifique, on behalf of the Institut de Paleontologic Humaine of Paris,[19] began work near Abu Ghosh, where already in 1928 the Benedictine Fathers had recorded Stone Age tools. Without pottery, the industry of Abu Ghosh was discovered to be related to Jericho XVII-X and the top stratum at el-Khiam in southern Judea, while differing in features from the Yarmukian culture of Sha'ar ha-Golan.[20] Excavation by M. Stekelis of the prehistoric remains at Sha'ar ha-Golan, southeast of the Sea of Galilee, uncovered a workshop of Neolithic flints which made it possible to study the techniques of implement-making during that period. At a lower level implements of the Palaeolithic Age were also discovered.[21]

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[16] The incense burners were heaped in one dump outside the building.

[17] Clay doves and a silver figurine among the finds suggest the temple was dedicated to the cult of Ashtoreth. Since there is no adjoining settlement, the temple must have served worshippers from the neighborhood. The nearest Middle Bronze site is ez-Zib, the ancient Akhzib, which is four kilometers to the north, though there may have been nomadic peoples in the immediate area.

[18] I. Ben-Dor, "A Middle Bronze-Age Temple at Nahariya." Q.D.A.P., Vol. XIV (1950) pp. 1-41.

[19] "Archaeological News - Israel." A.J.A., Vol. 55 (1951) p. 88.

On behalf of the Department of Antiquities, J. Kaplan in small-scale excavations and building activities recorded the discovery of a number of early settlements in the Tel Aviv area. A site on Bashan Street was represented by Neolithic (circa, 5000-4000 BC) and Early Bronze (circa.3000-2200 BC) finds. Abattoir Hill yielded Ghassulian (circa. 5000-4000 BC), Early Bronze, Middle Bronze II B (circa. 1750-1550 BC), Iron II (700-586 BC), and Persian Period (500-332 BC) artifacts. A Ghassulian site with Chalcolithic "dwelling pits" was discovered in the Jammesin Quarter on the continuation of Jabotinsky Street, and Middle Bronze II B tombs were found near the Tel Aviv harbor.[22] Similarly, building operations at the foot of

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[20] B.S.J. Isserlin, "Some Recent Archaeological News from Israel." P.E.Q., Vol. 84 (1952) pp. 42-3.

[21] A.J.A. Vol. 55 (1951) p. 88.

[22] Ibid., pp. 85-6; Isserlin, op. cit., pp. 43-44.

Tell Affuleh led to an investigation by I. Ben-Dor, for the Department of Antiquities, which revealed occupation levels from Chalcolithic to Roman periods in the area. Local production of Tell el-Yehudiyeh ware was demonstrated with the recovery of unbaked vessels from the Middle Bronze stratum.[23] The building of a new railway line between Tel Aviv and Haifa led to the discovery of several Israelite tombs at Haderah which were cleared by J. Ory for the Department of Antiquities.[24]

The first ten years of our study (1940 to 1950) was marked by disruption and transition in Palestinian archaeology. Not only had the World War severed foreign participation, but the continued conflict between Arabs and Jews culminating in the Arab-Israeli war and the partition of the country, deterred foreign expeditions until 1950 when the French began work at Abu Ghosh on a prehistoric site. Prehistoric studies, which had received impetus in Palestine with the discovery of skeletal remains in 1925, continued to attract expeditions under Professor Stekelis at Sha'ar ha-Golan, the Carmel Range and other sites in the country. Together with many salvage operations and soundings two major excavations were started. Khirbet el-Kerak (or Beth Yeraḥ) on the southwestern point of the Sea of Galilee and Tell Qasile on the Yarkon River (outside Tel Aviv) marked the beginning of a very fruitful archaeological program for the newly founded Department of Antiquities in Israel.

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[23] Ibid., pp. 87-8; Isserlin, op. cit., p. 45; Cf., "Notes and News" I.E.J., Vol. I (1950-51) p. 249.

[24] Ibid., p. 86.

3. Archaeological Activity, 1951 to 1955

With the gradual lessening of tensions following the Israeli-Arab conflict, this period saw the resumption of archaeological endeavor by expeditions sponsored by foreign scientific institutions. This was greatly facilitated on the part of the Government of Israel through the allocation of funds for the payment of laborers which accounted for an additional two-thirds of the total amount spent by foreign expeditions.[25] The impetus, however, developed gradually, and only two noteworthy excavations were conducted during 1951.

Following the excavation in 1942 of several Chalcolithic burial caves in Benei Beraq by J. Ory, and a trial sounding in March, 1951, J. Kaplan, for the Department of Antiquities, directed excavations in May of a large burial cave containing Ghassulian ossuaries, comparable to those discovered at Haderah in 1934 by E.L. Sukenik.[26] A prehistoric site at Naḥal Oren on the western slope of Mount Carmel was excavated during six seasons from 1951 to 1960 under the direction of M. Stekelis for the Hebrew University, the Department of Antiquities and the Municipality of Haifa. The stratigraphical sequence of the site indicated three cultural assemblages.[27] The earliest occupation during the Upper Paleolithic period, the Atlitian culture, was followed by a Kebarian level, both of which belonged to societies of food-gatherers leaving no buildings. This was followed by two phases of Natufian remains with houses, courtyards, hearths and stone circles, and a rich industry in bone and stone. Its burial customs in an area which contained fourteen tombs and funerary objects of high artistic quality.[28] The upper levels on the site contained two phases of pre-pottery Neolithic, and all the remains of the village and the forty burials of its cemetery suggested continuous permanent settlement.[29]

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[25] S. Yeivin, "Archaeology in Israel (November 1951 - January 1953)." A.J.A., Vol. 59 (1955) p. 163.

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[26] J. Kaplan, "Excavations at Benei Beraq, 1951." I.E.J., Vol. 13 (1963) pp. 300-312; Cf., E.L. Sukenik, "A Chalcolithic Necropolis at Haderah." J.P.O.S., Vol. 17 (1937) pp. 15-30.

[27] M. Stekelis and T. Yizraely, "Excavations of Naḥal Oren - Preliminary Report." I.E.J., Vol. 13 (1963) pp. 1-12; Cf., "Notes and News" I.E.J., Vol. 7 (1957) p. 125.

[28] "Notes and News" I.E.J., Vol. 8 (1958) p. 131; Vol. 10 (1960) pp. 118-9.

[29] Ibid., Vol. 10 (1960) pp. 258-9; Vol. 14 (1964) p. 277.

Excavating in 1952 on behalf of the Centre national de la recherche scientifique, J. Perrot uncovered remains on the banks of the Pattish Valley from the end of the Chalcolithic period, contemporary with other sites early settled by a population of shepherds and farmers, and discovered by D. Allon near Beersheba. Pottery types from the excavations connected these sites with Umm Qatafa, Ghassul, Tel Aviv (Jabotinsky Road), Benei Beraq and Haderah, but formed a southern Palestinian culture distinct from pottery known in the north of the country during the same pre-Bronze period.[30]

Though a trial trench had been dug by the late P.L.O. Guy on behalf of the Department of Antiquities in 1950, major excavation at Jaffa began in August 1952 when J. Bowman and B.S.J. Isserlin of the Semitics Department of the University of Leeds uncovered Persian, Hellenistic, Roman and Arab remains.[31] In five additional campaigns from 1958 to 1964, J. Kaplan, on behalf of the Museum of Antiquities of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, the Department of Education and Culture of the Tel Aviv Municipality, in cooperation with the Department of Antiquities, demonstrated that earlier stratification at the site included levels of Middle Bronze 11B (including buildings, walls and glacis of alternating layers of kurkar and terre pisée), Late Bronze, and Early to Middle Iron (Israelite).[32]

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[30] "Notes and News" I.E.J., Vol. 2 (1952) p. 253.

[31] Ibid., Vol. 3 (1953) p. 132; Vol. 6 (1956) pp. 259-60.

Excavations by J. Kaplan in November in Wadi Rabah disclosed a Neolithic settlement without buildings which was followed by two phases of Chalcolithic settlements with buildings, a new pre-Ghassulian phase resembling Jericho VIII[33] and a Ghassulian phase.[34]

Three seasons of excavation at Tell Abu Matar, near Beersheba, revealed four phases of an unusual Chalcolithic village of the fourth millenium BC.[35] J. Perrot, the director of the excavation, following an evaluation of the findings, suggested that this Palestinian culture which began on the site in a series of artificial subterranean cave-galleries,[36] possibly originated in Transjordan. Developing in the Northern Negeb, Tell Abu Matar and other sites in the Beersheba basin in their last stage were closely related to the culture of Ghassul, possibly related to pre- and proto-dynastic Egypt, but clearly different from the Chalcolithic cultures of Northern Palestine. Trade relations of the site extended to the Sinai Peninsula, the Red Sea and Egypt, but in particular to Transjordan (finds of copper ore, basalt, and hard stones). The sedentary population, with an agricultural and pastoral economy, was familiar with copper metallurgy.[37]

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[32] Ibid., Vol. 10 (1960) pp. 121-2; Vol. 14 (1964) pp. 285-6.

[33] Also paralleling Bashan Street, Tel Aviv, and Tuleilat Butashi in the Sorek Valley.

[34] J. Kaplan, "Excavations at Wadi Rabah" I.E.J., Vol. 8 (1958) pp. 149-160,

[35] Excavations were directed on behalf of the Centre national de la recherche scientifique from September 20 to October 25, 1952, October 11 to January 11, 1953, and March 20 to May 10, 1954.

[36] Four developmental changes in residences were identified: subterranean galleries in the loess entered by narrow corridors and connected by subterranean passages, partly submerged oval houses with stone walls, a few mud-brick houses built on the debris after a short period of abandonment, and large rectangular houses on stone foundations.

At Kadesh Naphtali, a sounding conducted by Y. Aharoni revealed eleven meters of debris with Early, Middle, and Late Bronze, Iron Age I and II, Hellenistic and Arab levels. The Early Bronze accumulation (5.25 meters) contained three substrata, including Khirbet Kerak ware.[38] Later in the year, Professor Aharoni directed a systematic survey of Upper Galilee from Peqi'in and Beit Jann and Iqrit and el-Mansura, and identified 46 sites which included: two artificial mounds with pottery from Early Bronze to Byzantine and Arab periods, eighteen Iron Age settlements, thirty-one Hellenistic-Roman-Byzantine sites of which four were settled in the Iron Age and some continued into the Arab period, and five settlements, including 3 Crusader fortresses, which were founded in the Arab period.[39]

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[37] J. Perrot, "The Excavations at Tell Abu Matar, near Beersheba." I.E.J., Vol. 5 (1955) pp. 17-40; pp. 73-84; pl. 9-18; pp. 167-189, pl. 21-23. Cf., Vol 4 (1954) pp. 125-6; B.A., Vol. 19 (1955) p. 45.

[38] April, 1953. "Notes and News, I.E.J., Vol. 3 (1953) p. 263.

Following the mapping of fifteen small conical-shaped tells southwest of Jerusalem,[40] R. Amiran directed excavations at two sites and a sounding at a third.[41] The similar constructions with a polygonal ring-wall with seventeen segments surrounding a paved platform suggested their use as cult centers, with pottery suggesting their use during the seventh century BC.[42]

Salvage excavations at Khirbet el-Bitar on the banks of the Besor Valley, southeast of Beersheba, were directed by M. Dothan.[43] The small mound contained three levels of a highly developed Chalcolithic settlement (fourth Millenium BC.), the first discovered in Western Palestine.[44] Professor Dothan also directed the clearing of a tomb containing two distinct levels of mass burial at the southern end of the Megiddo Pass.[45] Ceramic remains identified the strata as belonging to the Hyksos period[46] and the transition period from Chalcolithic to Bronze Ages (circa. 3200 BC).[47]

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[39] Y. Aharoni, "Problems of the Israelite Conquest in the Light of Archaeological Discoveries." Antiquity and Survival, Vol. II: 2-3 pp. 131-150; op. cit., p. 264.

[40] Similar sites are found on the crests of hills above Beit Jala, Deir Kirmizan and Battir, and a single one in the Shephelah near Har-El.

[41] "Notes and News" I.E.J., Vol. 4 (1954) pp. 127-28; Vol. 3 (1953) p. 264. Excavation during June-August and November, 1953.

[42] R. Amiran, "The Tumuli West of Jerusalem. Survey and Excavations, 1953" I.E.J., Vol. 8 (1958) pp. 205-227, pl. 37-39.

[43] From January to April, 1953, for the Department of Antiquities.

Four levels of occupation, Middle Bronze I, Iron I,[48] Iron II, and Hellenistic and Persian, were discovered in a small excavation at Khirbet et-Tuleil in the Upper Galilee by Y. Aharoni.[49]

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[44] Rectangular buildings on foundations of rough stone blocks were superimposed on a circular structure seven meters in diameter, and in the lowest level were circular pits possibly used for storage bins. Though the site had close relationships to the Ghassulian culture, some forms and decorations were typically northern Negeb, or totally unique to Khirbet el-Bitar. "Notes and News" I.E.J., Vol. 3 (1953) pp. 262-3.

[45] In October 1953.

[46] From the end of the 17th century and the first half of the 16th century BC, paralleling Stratum D at Tell Beit Mirsim.

[47] The lower stratum contained the gray-burnished ware which belongs to the end of the Chalcolithic period in Northern Israel and the painted ware typical of the South. Cf. "Notes and News," I.E.J., Vol. 3 (1953) p. 263.

[48] Remains of a bronze foundry assigned to the 13-12th century BC paralleled Megiddo VII.

[49] In October-November, 1953. I.E.J., Vol. 4 (1954) p. 127.

A salvage operation was directed at the site of a Canaanite temple on the seashore at Nahariyah, which had originally been excavated by I. Ben-Dor in 1947.[50] Excavations directed by M. Dothan recovered remains of a culture paralleling Megiddo, Byblos and Ras Shamra during two centuries (18th to 16th centuries Bc).[51] The great variety of objects found in the temple and the discovery of a Middle Bronze II settlement on a nearby tell, which may have served as a harbor at the mouth of the Ga'aton River, suggested that the worshippers may have included not only the local inhabitants but also seafarers from the ships anchored in the harbor.[53]

A Late Bronze II cemetery containing twenty tombs with funerary equipment including Cypriot ware possibly related to

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[50] From June to July 1954, the Director was assisted by H. Kantor of the Oriental Institute, and from October 3 to December 3, 1954 by L.I. Rahmani, and during April and May 1955 by E. Dunayevsky.

[51] Built on an already consecrated area, the temple and its bamah may have served the worship of Asrat-of-the-Sea (Ashrath-Yam) which is mentioned in Ugaritic texts as the great goddess of Tyre and Sidon.

[52] It may have been one of the main Phoenician holy places on the northern shoreline of Canaan from the middle of the 18th to the end of the 16th century BC.
M. Dothan, "The Excavation of Nahariyah: Preliminary Report (Seasons 1954/55)," *I.E.J.*, Vol. 6 (1956) pp. 14-25, pl. 1-6. Cf., *Ibid.*, Vol. 4 (1954) pp. 301-2; Vol. 5 (1955) pp. 126-7, 272.

Tell Abu Hawam nearby was excavated by I. Anati for the Department of Antiquities.[53]

Excavations by Y. Aharoni at the tell of Ramat Raḥel which began in 1954 with a small trial dig, continued from 1959 to 1962 with a number of institutions participating.[54] The small site which did not exceed an area of two to three acres during most of its seven occupational periods was built on a high point between Jerusalem and Bethlehem.[55] Probably to be identified with the Old Testament references to Beth-haccherem, it was found in the ninth or eighth century BC as a Judean citadel, surrounded by gardens, vineyards and a village. This edifice was later transformed into a large royal citadel with an impressive palace by one of the later kings of Judah. After its destruction at the end of the First Temple period, a third unique settlement was established with a citadel, the ruins of which contained a wealth of stamped jar handles from the Persian period. This resettlement began in the latter part of the sixth century or the early fifth century BC and was destroyed during the third century BC.[56] Unfortunately, since the debris depth was only five to six feet generally, foundation trenches of later construction left earlier strata poorly preserved.[57]

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[53] I.E.J., Vol. 3 (1953) p. 133.

[54] The excavation began under the auspices of the Israel Department of Antiquities and the Israel Exploration Society. The cooperation of the Hebrew University (1959) and the University of Rome (1960 to 1962) followed. The director's chief assistants were M. Kochavi of the Hebrew University and A. Ciasca of the University of Rome.

[55] Jeremiah's denunication and description of Jehoiakim's building (22:13f.) seem to fit the palace at Ramat Raḥel.

Following three seasons of excavation at Tell Abu Matar, the French archaeological mission in 1955 began excavation at Bir es-Safadi, a site about one kilometer from and contemporary with Tell Abu Matar.[58] The general stratigraphy of the site was similar with deeply buried dwellings, partly-submerged and underground houses, and mud houses on stone foundations on the surface.[59]

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[56] Four later occupations of the site include: a Jewish settlement from the First century BC to the First century AD, installations of the Roman Tenth Legion from the Third to the Fifth centuries BC, a Kathisma Church from the Fifth to the Seventh centuries AD, and an Arab village from the Seventh and Eighth centuries AD.

[57] Yohanan Aharoni, "Excavations at Ramat Raḥel, 1954 - Preliminary Report." I.E.J., Vol. 6 (1956) pp. 102-11; Cf., I.E.J., Vol. 5 (1955) pp. 127-9; Vol. 6 (1956) pp. 137-57; Vol. 9 (1959) pp. 272-4; Vol. 10 (1960) pp. 261-2; Vol. II (1961) pp. 193-5. "Excavations at Ramat Raḥel," B.A., Vol. 24 (1961) pp. 98-118; Excavations at Ramat Raḥel, Seasons 1959 and 1960, and Excavations at Ramat Raḥel, Seasons 1961 and 1962. Roma: Centro di Studi Semitici, 1962 and 1964.

[58] Three campaigns were directed by J. Perrot from 1955 to 1957 in collaboration with the Israel Department of Antiquities, the Haaretz Museum of Tel Aviv and Beersheba Municipality.

[59] I.E.J., Vol. 5 (1955) pp. 125, 6; Vol. 6 (1956) pp. 126, 7 (French); Vol. 8 (1958) pp. 131-3.

In March 1955 M. Stekelis began excavations at Khirbet Sheikh 'Ali in Jordan Valley[60] where at least three phases of occupation were identified. Two phases of Chalcolithic, the upper with grey-burnished ware, comparable to Beth-shan XVI-XV and the lower collection of pottery and buildings comparable to Tuleilat Ghassul and the related cultures in the Besor Valley (Wadi Ghazza) and Beersheba basin, were preceded by sherds and flint tools related to the Neolithic industries of Jericho,[61] and possibly Sha'ar ha-Golan.[62]

Tuleil Batashi in the Sorek Valley, a Neolithic-Chalcolithic site dating from the 5th-4th millenia BC was explored during the summer of 1955 by J. Kaplan who identified similarities in the Neolithic culture of Jericho IX.[63]

One of the most significant excavations of our period of study was directed from 1955 to 1958 by Yigael Yadin, together with a large staff,[64] at Tell el-Qedah (biblical Hazor).[65] The historical reconstruction, based on the excavations on the massive site,[66] includes an initial settlement in Early Bronze II period (3rd millenium BC) which was limited to the tell proper. Occupation continued to the end of Early Bronze III, with resettlement by a semi-nomadic people, as elsewhere in Palestine, coming during the Middle Bronze I Age. While there is no evidence of settlement during the Middle Bronze IIA period, Middle Bronze IIB brought a decisive change which not only strongly fortified the acropolis, but developed the huge lower city. The city, which flourished throughout the Late Bronze periods with alternate destruction and rebuilding, reached its pinnacle in the fourteenth century

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[60] Four seasons were conducted from 1955 to 1959 for the Department of Antiquities and the Hebrew University, with M.W. Prausnitz directing the 1959 season.

[61] Two rooms without pottery containing a burial with decapitated skeletons suggested a parallel to Stratum X at Jericho.

[62] I.E.J., Vol. 5 (1955) p. 271; Vol. 7 (1957) pp. 263, 4; Vol. 10 (1960) pp. 119, 120.

[63] Ibid., Vol. 5 (1955) pp. 273, 274.

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[64] Senior members of the staff (which numbered 45 during the third and fourth seasons) included Y. Aharoni, R. Amiran, M. Dothan, T. Dothan, I. Dunayevsky, C. Epstein, and J. Perrot. The work force numbered up to 250.

[65] Professor J. Garstang, who first identified Tell el-Qedah with biblical Hazor, made several trial soundings on the site in 1928 under the patronage of Sir Charles Marston. The James A. Rothschild Expedition was directed on behalf of the Hebrew University, with the aid of the Palestine Jewish Colonization Association, the Anglo-Israel Exploration Society, and the Government of Israel.

[66] The site is composed of a tell proper covering about thirty acres and rising forty meters above the surrounding terrain, while a large rectangular lower tell covering 175 acres is bounded by a rampart of beaten earth and a deep fosse on the west, and a steep slope reinforced by supporting walls and glacis on the other sides.

(known as the Amarna Age), when it was, in area and population, the largest city in Palestine. During the second half of the thirteenth century BC, Hazor was destroyed by fire by the invading Israelites.[67] The very poor and temporary settlement attempts by the Israelites in the twelfth century BC were replaced within the acropolis area in the Solomonic period by a large and well-fortified city. Within the next 200 years following Solomon's reign, five more Israelite cities were built and destroyed. The final of these destructions came in 732 BC during the conquest of the Assyrian King Tiglath-Pileser III. Later occupations include an unfortified Israelite resettlement either at the end of the eighth or beginning of the seventh century, and small citadels during the Assyrian, Persian and Hellenistic periods.[68]

Israeli archaeology had come into its own. During the years from 1951 to 1955, at least ten major excavations were begun with half of them continuing into the 1960's. Especially important were the excavations at Hazor under the direction of

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[67] I.E.J., Vol. 9 (1959) p. 87.

[68] Y. Yadin, "Excavations at Hazor, 1955 - Preliminary Communique" I.E.J., Vol. 6 (1956) pp. 120-125, pl. 15-20; (1956) op. cit., Vol. 7 (1957) pp. 118-123, pl. 27-32; (1957) op. cit., Vol. 8 (1958) pp.1-14, pl.1-9; (1958) op. cit., Vol. 9 (1959) pp. 74-88, pl. 6-13.

Professor Yigael Yadin, with most of the Israeli archaeologists participating, at Ramat Raḥel, under the direction of Professor Yohanan Aharoni, and in the Beersheba Valley at Tell Abu Matar and Bir es-Safadi, under the direction of Professor Jean Perrot. The Ghassulian and earlier cultures were still capturing the major interest as reflected in work at Naḥal Oren, Kabara Cave, Abu Matar, Safadi, Khirbet Sheikh 'Ali, Benei Beraq, Pattish Valley, Wadi Rabbah and the Besor Valley. This emphasis seemed to demonstrate that a concerted effort was being made to recover prehistory.

4. Archaeological Activity, 1956 to 1960

While seven previously-begun excavations were continuing, excavations of more than one season were started at eight additional sites. The period was also characterized by a number of significant surveys which greatly benefited knowledge of Palestinian chronology, and the intense interest in archaeology in Israel was beginning to be demonstrated.

During six seasons from 1956 to 1961, S. Yeivin directed excavations at Tell Sheikh el-Areini (sometimes called Tel Araq el-Menshiyeh, or Tell Gath) a relatively small acropolis surrounded by a 62-1/2-acre upper terrace and a larger lower terrace which merges with the surrounding plain.[69] With the abandonment of the Early Bronze Age town with the drying up of the surrounding swamps, circa. 2600 BC, the site was unoccupied until the Late Bronze period and the development of cisterns. However, excavation demonstrated a very limited settlement on the acropolis during the late Canaanite and Philistine periods and disspelled a former suggestion that Tell Sheikh el-Areini was the Philistine city of Gath. Of the fifteen strata uncovered, levels XIV to VI represented several stages of rebuilding and fortification during the Israelite period. Jar handles with "lmlk" seal impressions found in the Iron Age II citadel suggested that the site was a Judean town during the seventh and sixth centuries BC.[70]

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[69] Preliminary Reports: "Notes and News," I.E.J., Vol. 6 (1956) pp. 258-9; Vol. 7 (1957) pp. 264-5; Vol. 8 (1958) pp. 274-6; Vol. 9 (1959) pp. 269-271; Vol. 10 (1960) pp. 122-3; Vol. 11 (1961) p. 191.

[70] S. Yeivin, First Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Tell "Gath" (Tell Sheikh 'Ahmed el-'Areyny) Seasons 1956-1958. Jerusalem: Department of Antiquities, Ministry of Education and Culture, 1961; "Early Contacts between Canaan and Egypt," I.E.J., Vol. 10 (1960) pp. 193-203. (A Hellenistic stratum on the top of the acropolis was disturbed by an Arab cemetery from the seventh to fifteenth centuries AD.)

During the Israeli occupation of the Sinai peninsula from November 1956 to January 1957 following the Sinai campaign against the Egyptians, the Department of Archaeology of the Hebrew University conducted three expeditions of archaeological exploration and excavation. Exploration of the oasis of Feiran and the vicinity of the Monastery of St. Catherine led to the discovery of sherds of Iron Age II with a wheel burnishing typical of the Judean kingdom on the tell at the oasis. A second expedition headed by B. Mazar sailed along the western shores of the Gulf of Elath, making landings and surveys at Taba, Jeziret Far'un, Nuweibe, Dhahab and Sharm esh-Sheikh.[71] A survey was directed by Y. Aharoni in the northern Sinai Peninsula which led to a sounding at Tell el-Qudeirat, usually identified with biblical Kadesh-barnea. While the neighboring region had scattered remains of many temporary and permanent settlements, dating from the Palaeolithic, Middle Bronze I, Israelite, Persian, and Roman-Byzantine periods, the tell contained the remains of an Iron Age fortress, with eight towers and a casemate wall reinforced by a glacis, which may be attributed to either Jehoshaphat or Uzziah in the 9th or 8th centuries BC in an attempt to fortify the southern limits of Judah. While the fortress was destroyed, possibly by the Edomites, during the time of the conquest of Palestine by the Babylonians, at the end of the seventh or the beginning of the sixth century BC, the site was resettled in the Persian period at the beginning of the fifth century and ended in the Hellenistic period.[72]

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[71] "Notes and News," I.E.J., Vol. 7 (1957) pp. 124-5.

M. Dothan, in two seasons of excavation at Meṣer beginning in 1956, discovered three levels of occupation beginning with the end of the Ghassulian period (circa. 3400 BC) and continuing for a hundred or a hundred and fifty years, formed a link between the Ghassulian and the Late Chalcolithic II cultures.[73]

In January 1957 J. Naveh conducted a survey of Khirbet al-Muqanna', a low mound over a quarter of a mile long, eight kilometers north of Tell as-Safi, and on the basis of archaeological evidence identified the site as Ekron. Surface pottery indicated it had been founded by the Philistines and still existed in Persian times, and at its height of development was a walled town covering an area of about forty acres, the largest Iron Age town found in Palestine.[74]

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[72] M. Dothan, "The Fortress at Kadesh-Barnea." I.E.J., Vol. 15 (1965) pp. 134-143

[73] M. Dothan, "Excavations at Meṣer, 1956: Preliminary Report on the First Season," I.E.J., Vol. 7 (1957) pp. 217-228; "Excavations at Meṣer 1957: Preliminary Report on the Second Season" I.E.J., Vol. 9 (1959) pp. 13-29 pl. 1-3; Cf., Vol. 7 (1957) pp. 127-8. (Seasons: September-October, 1956 and September 15 to October 15, 1957)

J. Kaplan continued his archaeological activities in the Tel Aviv area with the excavation of Tell Abu Zeitun in the Yarkon Valley where he recovered remains from occupational levels of Middle Iron I and two phases of the Persian period.[75]

From 1945 to 1958 an archaeological survey of the Beth-shan-Jordan Valley area by N. Tzori identified some one hundred and thirty sites, of which at least seven existed during the Neolithic period and over twenty in the Chalcolithic Age.[76]

The excavation of a tomb at Azor containing a large number of pottery ossuaries and some Chalcolithic pottery by J. Perrot early in 1958 led to a series of excavations for the Department of Antiquities by M. Dothan.[77] Archaeological remains indicated that Azor was already settled in the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze periods and flourished during the

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[74] J. Naveh, "Khirbet al-Muqanna' -Ekron. An Archaeological Survey" I.E.J., Vol. 8 (1958) pp. 87-100; Vol. 8 (1958) pp. 165-170.

[75] November, 1957. I.E.J., Vol. 8 (1958) pp. 133-4.

[76] N. Tzori, "Neolithic and Chalcolithic Sites in the Valley of Beth-Shan." P.E.Q., Vol. 90 (1958) pp. 44-51.

[77] I.E.J., Vol. 8 (1958) p. 133.

Middle Bronze II and Early Israelite (Iron I) periods. The main finds from graves related to the time of King David[78] testified to flourishing commercial relations between the Phoenician coast and Cyprus and the coastal plain at the beginning of the Israelite monarchy.[79] The continuation of the excavation in October 1960 cleared thirty tombs from the thirteenth to the seventh centuries BC. The Canaanites who controlled the coastal area in the thirteenth century (Late Bronze II) began the cemetery which from the beginning of the twelfth to the middle of the eleventh century was used by the Philistines.[80] Finds in the various types of burials used by the Philistines indicated Egyptian influences on their material culture. Pottery from the tombs of the Solomonic period and the early Divided Monarchy included a large number of Cypriote and Cypro-Phoenician vessels and suggested widespread trade relations during the period. At least one tomb seemed to have been from the end of the Judean Kingdom or the time of the

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[78] Parallels Tell Qasile IX.

[79] I.E.J., Vol. 8 (1958) pp. 272-4.

[80] Cremation burials, which were common in the twelfth and eleventh centuries in Greece, the Aegean islands and in Syria (Hama), were suddenly introduced as a burial practice in the middle of the eleventh century at Azor, and can only be explained by the arrival of a new ethnic element. Cf., Ibid., Vol. 11 (1961) p. 175.

Babylonian conquest (the end of the seventh or early sixth century BC).[81]

During the autumns of 1958 and 1960, M.W. Prausnitz conducted excavations in an ancient cemetery at Achzib, recovering during the first season several dozen tombs belonging to Iron Age II and the Persian period (eighth to fifth centuries).[82] During the second season an additional thirty tombs yielded remains similar to those of other Phoenician settlements along the Mediterranean.[83] The excavations in the cemetery led to two later campaigns on the tell.[84] The foundation courses of the defenses which first fortified the site in the Middle Bronze Age (MB II) were destroyed in the Late Bronze Age I. Building activities were renewed at the end of the Late Bronze Age, and from the tenth to the sixth centuries BC, Achzib reached its greatest expansion with walls and a fortified area covering eighty dunams (20 acres), and with Phoenicia as a whole enjoyed prosperity and commercial expansion.[85] While no remains from the Persian period (539-332 BC) were found on the tell, decline seemed to begin during this period with numerous burnt layers indicating destruction at comparatively short intervals.[86]

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[81] M. Dothan, "Excavations at Azor, 1960." I.E.J., Vol. 11 (1961) pp. 171-5, pl. 33-35; Vol. 10 (1960) pp. 259-260.

[82] I.E.J., Vol. 9 (1959) p. 271.

[83] Ibid., Vol. 10 (1960) pp. 260-1.

[84] 1963 and 1964. Directed by W.M. Prausnitz for the University of Rome and the Department of Antiquities.

N. Avigad directed two seasons of excavation on a small nameless mound near Tell Makmish on the coast of the Sharon Plain near Herzliyah.[87] The site was first occupied during the Israelite period (tenth and ninth centuries BC). A stratum of scorched earth containing many fragments of cooking vessels suggested an open enclosure for religious rites involving fires and the preparation of food.[88] Following an hiatus, a sanctuary, where votive figurines were dedicated to the deity of a fertility cult, was constructed on the site during the Persian period (fifth to fourth centuries BC) by the Phoenician settlers occupying the neighboring Tell Makmish.[89]

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[85] Red-slipped pottery generally found in Phoenician tombs all over the Mediterranean coast, continued to Stratum V, i.e., the seventh century BC, and the first decades of the sixth century BC.

[86] Attic and Hellenistic sherds indicated the increasing influence of Greece, and during the Hellenistic period Achzib regained almost all its former size and importance. Roman and Crusader constructions were limited.
Cf. I.E.J., Vol. 13 (1963) pp. 337-8; Vol. 15 (1965) pp. 356-8.

[87] Excavated for the Museum Haaretz, Tel Aviv, with the cooperation of the Department of Archaeology of the Hebrew University.

[88] N. Avigad, "Excavations at Makmish, 1960 - Preliminary Report" I.E.J., Vol. II (1961) pp. 97-100, pl. 25; Cf., Vol. 10 (1960) p. 262 (Second Season, September 1960).

After collections of artifacts on the site during 1956 and 1957, M.W. Prausnitz in August of 1958 excavated a site near Kibbutz Kabri containing three strata of remains from Neolithic to Late Chalcolithic.[90] Two areas were excavated north of the village of Kfar Gil'adi in the Upper Galilee by J. Kaplan. The first yielded three strata of Early Bronze, 'Esdraelon Culture' sherds, and a few Neolithic and Chalcolithic sherds. The second area contained building structures of the Chalcolithic period over the remains of a Yarmukian settlement of the Neolithic age.[91]

In the continuing study of ancient Negev agriculture, the Hebrew University conducted a systematic survey and some excavation at Ramat Maṭred, about ten kilometers southwest of Avdat.[92] Several parts of the plateau were densely covered with Middle Bronze Age I sites, some encampments of semi-nomadic populations with large corrals, surrounded by small circles or tents or huts. Other settlements were located near cultivated valley-beds though no connection could be established. Though more limited in size, the Iron Age settlement maintained a stable economy based on cattle-raising and perennial agriculture with corrals and cisterns connected by strong fences to terraced fields in the valley.[93] The settlement was probably established during the reign of Solomon together with the building of forts and an important road which guaranteed the security of the whole district. All the houses excavated showed signs of violent conflagration and contained pottery dated not later than the middle of the ninth century BC.[94] The site was not reoccupied.[95]

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[89] Idem., "Excavations at Makmish, 1958 - Preliminary Report." I.E.J., Vol. 10 (1960) pp. 90-96, pl. 9-12.

[90] The site contained a fourth stratum of mixed Late and Early Arab and Byzantine pottery. I.E.J., Vol. 9 (1959) pp. 268-9.

[91] I.E.J., Vol. 8 (1958) p. 274.

[92] From April 6-17, 1959.

During 1959 and 1960, M. Dothan directed excavations at Tell Mor (Tell Kheidar), a small site about one kilometer from the Ashdod seashore on Naḥal Lachish.[96] Public buildings and fortifications suggested that the site had served as a military and administrative center, especially during the Late Bronze Age, while at the same time serving as an inland port for the city-state of Ashdod with close trade relations with Egypt, the Phoenician coast and Cyprus. The town flourished from its beginning in the sixteenth century to the end of the fourteenth century BC. In the thirteenth century, a citadel, with an internal arrangement resembling Egyptian buildings, became the main building of the new town. A deep layer of ash bore witness to the total destruction of this town during the second half of the thirteenth century BC. A smaller fort was constructed at the end of the thirteenth century.[97] With the coming of the Philistines during the first half of the twelfth century, a small unfortified village developed on the earlier ruins and was conquered in the early tenth century by David, or by a punitive raid by the Egyptians. Abandoned until its rebuilding, possibly by King Uzziah of Judah, about the eighth century, it was finally destroyed, probably by Sargon of Assyria who conquered Ashdod and Ashdod-Yam in 712 BC. When the port was moved to the coast, the site was finally abandoned.[98]

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[93] op. cit., Vol. 9 (1959) pp. 142-3.

[94] The destruction of the site may have been connected with the invasion of Pharoah Shishak (circa. 920 BC) or the Edomite revolt against Judah which occurred about 850 BC with the consequent loss of the Arabah.

[95] Y. Aharoni, M. Evenari, L. Shanan and N.H. Tadmor, "The Ancient Desert Agriculture of the Negev: V. An Israelite Agricultural Settlement at Ramat Maṭred." I.E.J., Vol. 10 (1960) pp. 23-36, pl. 3-6; pp. 97-111, pl. 13-16.

[96] I.E.J., Vol. 9 (1959) pp. 271-2.

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[97] Called 'migdol' by the Egyptians and frequently represented in Egyptian reliefs of the conquest of Canaanite cities. Seemingly rebuilt by Canaanites who returned to the site after the earlier destruction.

[98] *Ibid.*, Vol. 10 (1960) pp. 123-4. (Tell Mor was resettled in the Hellenistic period. See *ibid.*, p. 125.

Following soundings conducted during 1955 and 1956, J. Perrot directed excavations at 'Eynan ('Ein Mallaḥa) on the shore of Lake Huleh in the Upper Jordan Valley.[99] The site contained three strata with a Natufian-like industry and a lower deposit of Palaeolithic flints. The industry of the upper layer at 'Eynan was identified as being Lower or perhaps Middle Natufian.[100] The abundance of fish and game made permanent settlement possible before the emergency of organized food production based on plant cultivation and domestication of animals.[101]

Discovered in 1954, Tell Poleg was the site of a series of short excavations directed by R. Gophna[102] which recovered the remains of a large Middle Bronze IIA (circa. eighteenth century BC) fortress which may have protected a road along the coast of the Sharon Plain, and later remains of the Iron (tenth-ninth centuries BC), Persian and Hellenistic periods.[103]

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[99] From June 2 to July 18 and August 10 to September 4, 1959, for the American Philosophical Society, the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, the Israel Department of Antiquities and the Centre national de la recherche scientifique.

[100] Perrot suggested that the round houses found at 'Eynan in a lower Natufian context may be the prototypes of the Jericho curvilinear houses in a post-Natufian context and the round houses of the 'Tahunian' level on the Naḥal Oren terrace.

[101] J. Perrot, "Excavations at 'Eynan ('Ein Mallaḥa) - Preliminary Report on the 1959 Season." I.E.J., Vol. 10 (1960) pp. 14-22, pl. 1-2. Cf., Vol. 9 (1959) p. 268; Vol. 10 (1960) pp. 257-8 (French).

[102] During the autumn of 1959 (assisted by J. Naveh and P. Beck), June 1962, and March-April 1964.

In 1958 the Commission for Landscaping and Preservation of Antiquities resumed work at Megiddo where in January 1960, Y. Yadin directed a brief excavation endeavoring to solve a number of problems existing since the University of Chicago excavations in 1925 to 1939.[104] The Hebrew University continued study projects on the site during 1963 to ascertain the continuity of the temples and the ritual area.[105] The excavations demonstrated a stratigraphical continuity during the existence of the temple area from the Early Bronze to the Late Bronze Age.[106]

An extensive exploration with limited excavation in the Judean Desert was conducted by a four-team expedition headed by Y. Aharoni, N. Avigad, P. Bar-Adon and Y. Yadin during 1960 and 1961.[107] Y. Aharoni directed exploration along the southern bank of Naḥal Ḥever where the principal cave 'The Cave of Horror' contained Chalcolithic burials and pottery, and later served as a refuge for Bar Khochba warriors.[108] N. Avigad's team, in the 'Cave of the Pool' in Naḥal David near En-Gedi, discovered Chalcolithic (4th millenium BC),[109] Israelite (seventh century BC),[110] and Roman remains. P. Bar-Adon in the 'Cave of the Treasure' in Naḥal Mishmar recovered over four hundred and thirty Chalcolithic bronze and ivory religious objects[111] and some Roman remains. Y. Yadin also discovered Chalcolithic and Roman remains, with a large number of documents from the Bar Khochba period, in the large 'Cave of the Letters' in the northern precipice of Naḥal Ḥever.[112]

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[103] I.E.J., Vol. 14 (1964) pp. 109-111.

[104] Yigael Yadin, "New Light on Solomon's Megiddo." B.A., Vol. 23 (1960) pp. 62-68; Cf., I.E.J., Vol. 10 (1960) p. 125.

[105] Directed by I. Dunayevsky in the winter and fall of 1963.

[106] I.E.J., Vol. 16 (1966). p. 142.

[107] Following a ten-day survey in the area in January 1960 by Y. Aharoni, the massive survey assisted by the Israeli army was conducted from March 23 to Apr il 5, 1960 and from March 14 to 27, 1961 (I.E.J., Vol. 10 (1960) pp. 125-6; Vol. 11 (1961) pp. 77-81.

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[108] The discovery of over forty skeletons of men, women and children suggested that these refugees died during a prolonged Roman seige.

[109] The finds from the Chalcolithic and perhaps the beginning of the Early Bronze Age I suggested a prolonged habitation in the caves through the region with a material culture resembling that of Tuleilat Ghassul and Beersheba.

[110] The only cave discovered with remains of this period.

[111] This unique hoard, with parallels to Chalcolithic finds throughout Palestine, may have been associated originally with the sanctuary discovered above the spring at En-Gedi.

[112] "The Expedition to the Judean Desert, 1960." I.E.J., Vol. 11 (1961) pp. 1-52, pl. 1-24; "The Expedition to the Judean Desert, 1961." I.E.J., Vol. 12 (1962) pp. 167-262, pl. 15-48.

Soundings during a four-week expedition during March 1960 directed by M. Stekelis for the Hebrew University revealed remains of the Lower Pleistocene Age, comparable in age only to finds in Algiers and Tanganyika, near Tell 'Ubeidiya in the Jordan Valley.[113]

The intense archaeological interest which had marked the early years, not only of the academic community, but also the general populace, of the State of Israel, continued with major excavations being conducted on at least seventeen different sites from 1956 to 1960. Surveys in various parts of the country enhanced the productivity of the period. During the invasion of the Sinai in 1956, a hurried survey of various parts of the peninsula provided archaeologists from the Hebrew University with valuable information especially concerning the environs of Kadesh-barnea. With surveys also conducted in the Judean Desert and the Beth-shan area, and brief excavations at a number of smaller sites, Israeli archaeology was advancing toward its most productive period, 1961 to 1965, when foreign participation was greatly increased.

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[113] I.E.J., Vol. 10 (1960) p. 118.

5. Archaeological Activity, 1961 to 1965.

Archaeological excavation and survey reached its highest level during this period. With excavations renewed or continuing on at least eleven sites, major projects were begun at 'Ein Gev, Tell Ashdod, Tell Nagila, Tell Arad, Munḥata, Tell Abu Hawam, Tell Sippor, Tell Zeror, and Gezer. Archaeological surveys, salvage operations, and minor excavations added to the importance of this period in Israel.

In April 1949 Professor B. Mazar headed a small expedition in a systematic survey of the oasis of En-Gedi, and made a trial excavation at Tell Gorn (el-Jurn) which demonstrated its importance in the history of the oasis especially in biblical times. Two additional surveys by Y. Aharoni and J. Naveh proved that efficient irrigation systems and advanced methods of collecting water had made it an important agricultural center worthy of a network of strongholds and watch-towers at strategic locations. Four seasons of excavation directed by B. Mazar and I. Dunayevsky aided by T. Dothan followed in 1961, 1962, 1964 and 1965.[114] While attention was centered on Tell

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[114] January 1-12, 1961; March 10 to April 19, 1962; March 1964; March to April, 1965, sponsored by the Hebrew University and the Israel Exploration Society. I.E.J., Vol. 12 (1962) pp. 145-6; Vol. 14 (1964) pp. 121-130, pl. 25-30; Vol. 15 (1965) pp. 258-9; Vol. 17 (1967) pp. 133-43.

Goren, excavation included a Chalcolithic building complex[115] above the spring, an Israelite watch-tower near the spring, and a Roman bath near the sea shore.[116] On the tell, building and installation remains, pottery and other finds were recovered for each of the five occupation levels: Stratum V is dated to the period from Josiah, King of Judah to the destruction of the Judean Kingdom (*circa*., 630 to 582/1 BC), Stratum IV from the Persian period and the return from Babylon (fifth and fourth centuries BC), while Strata III-I represent Hellenistic, Hasmonean, and Roman-Byzantine periods of occupation.[117]

From January 1959 to April 1961, an archaeological survey of the western side of the Arabah was directed by B. Rothenberg revealed copper smelting activities in the Arabah during four distinct historical periods from the fourth millenium BC to the beginning of the Christian era.[118] At least two sites at the opening of the southern branch of Wadi Timnah revealed an early Chalcolithic copper-smelting plant, with mine, workshop and smelter dated by flints and sherds.[119] Two additional areas, one near the modern settlement of Beer Ora and the other on a hill overlooking Eilat, with smelters could be identified as belonging to Middle Bronze I. The extensive complex of installations connected with the mining and refining of copper ore in Wadi Timnah and Wadi Amram was dated by the pottery exclusively to the 10th-9th centuries BC during the time of Solomon.[120] The smelting center and port of Eilat was connected with the north by a line of small, strongly-built 10th century fortresses which guarded crossroads and water sources. From this survey it would appear that all along the Wadi Arabah, small smelting sites, recognizable by slag piles or pieces, existed during all periods of settlement, with primitive open-hearth smelting carried on as a home-industry.[121]

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[115] The large Chalcolithic enclosure northwest of the spring pointed to a flourishing settlement already in that period. Occupational gaps on the tell may therefore only mean settlement in another part of the oasis.

[116] B. Mazar, "Excavations at the Oasis of Engedi." *Archaeology*, Vol. 16 (1963), pp. 99-107.

[117] Benjamin Mazar, Trude Dothan, and I. Dunayevsky, *En-Gedi*, *The First and Second Seasons of Excavations 1961-1962*. Jerusalem: Department of Antiquities and Museums, 1966, pp. 13-50.

[118] B. Rothenberg,"Ancient Copper Industries in the Western Arabah." *P.E.Q.*, Vol. 94 (1962) pp. 5-67.

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[119] Some with affinities to early Chalcolithic pottery of Eastern Palestine and Neolithic pottery.

[120] Y. Aharoni, "The Iron Age Pottery of the Timna and Amram Area." I.E.Q., Vol. 94 (1962) pp. 66-7.

[121] This continued to be true during the Hellenistic-Nabataean, Roman and Byzantine periods. However, according to Mr. Rothenberg, there were no indications of the use of either mines or smelting installations during the reigns of later Judean kings in the eighth to sixth centuries.

Brief excavations near 'Ein Gev were conducted in 1961 by B. Mazar, A. Biran, M. Dothan and I. Dunayevsky on a site which may be identified with Susita. It was founded in the tenth century at the end of David's reign or the beginning of Solomon's kingdom when Transjordan and Damascus were under Israel's rule.[122] In shifting between Israelite and Aramaean control, the city was destroyed and rebuilt four times before its final destruction, together with many other cities in Palestine during the campaign of Tiglath-Pileser III in 733 BC.[123]

After a survey and trial excavation in a cave in Naḥal 'Amud recovered Palaeolithic and Levalloiso-Mousterian remains,[124] excavations by H. Suzuki led to the discovery of an almost complete Neanderthal skeleton together with Levalloiso-Mousterian flint artifacts.[125]

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[122] I.E.J., Vol. 11 (1961) pp. 192-3.

[123] B. Mazar, A. Biran, M. Dothan, I. Dunayevsky, "'Ein Gev - Excavations in 1961." I.E.J., Vol. 14 (1964) pp. 1-49, pl. 1-14. (The second city with a strong casemate wall thrived at the end of the tenth century and was probably destroyed during the campaign of Ben-Hadad I, the king of Aram, against Israel at the end of King Baasha's reign in 886 BC. City III, built during the reign of the Omri dynasty, was probably destroyed during the campaign of the Assyrian King Shalmaneser III in 838 BC. Rebuilt under Aramaean control, City IV was probably destroyed by the attacks of King Joash of Israel against the weakened kingdom of Aram circa., 790 BC. City V consisted of a large public building (fortress or storehouse) and thrived during Jeroboam II's reign (eighth century BC).

[124] By Hitoshi Watanabe.

Excavations on the smaller of the two mounds at Tel 'Amal directed by S. Levy revealed a Middle Bronze I burial and three Israelite occupational strata dated from the tenth to eighth centuries BC.[126]

Following a survey and discovery of Iron Age I tombs in 1959, M.W. Prausnitz excavated a cemetery which had been used during Middle Bronze I and II, Late Bronze, Iron I and II, and the Hellenistic period. A trial trench at the foot of Tell Bir el-Gharbi opposite the cemetery revealed a low fortified area three times as large as the tell proper.[127]

Har Yeruḥam, a site covering more than five square kilometers of ridges in the central Negeb including a one-acre main settlement, a walled rock-altar (high place, and more than one hundred tumuli and varied constructions, was excavated by an expedition headed by M. Kochavi early in 1962. The first of two phases of Middle Bronze I occupation was represented by rectangular houses, built around the circumference of the site to form a wall, with benches lining the individual rooms and drum-shaped stone pillars to support the roofs. During the second phase, houses were rounded and two large enclosures were built. A pottery kiln and a hoard of eighteen copper ingots suggested local industries.[128]

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[125] From June to August 1961 for the Tokyo University Expedition to Western Asia. I.E.J., Vol. 11 (1961) pp. 189-191.

[126] From January to March, 1962 for the Department of Antiquities. I.E.J., Vol. 12 (1962) p. 147.

[127] I.E.J., Vol. 12 (1962) p. 143. Excavated during the summer of 1962 for the Department of Antiquities.

A series of excavations at Tell Ashdod, one of the largest sites in the country, covering over one hundred acres, began in 1962 under the direction of M. Dothan, assisted by D.N. Freedman and J.L. Swauger.[129] Because of the size of the site, a complete history of occupation is not yet available on the basis of archaeological evidence. However, the 1965 campaign uncovered two previously unknown strata beyond the northern city wall, one from the Early Bronze Age and the other from the Middle Bronze II Age.[130] The earliest of four levels of occupation from the Late Bronze Age belonged to the sixteenth to fifteenth centuries BC.[131] A high percentage of Mycenaean and Cypriote pottery indicated strong links between Ashdod and the Aegean and Cyprus. The Iron Age city, with the earliest of its four strata containing remains of the eleventh-tenth centuries BC, seemed to have reached its greatest extent during Solomon's reign or after the division of the Israelite Kingdom.[122] With the destruction of this city,[133] a new settlement developed during the eighth century and may have continued during the time of Assyrian power when Sargon II made Ashdod the seat of an Assyrian province.[134] Following the final Iron Age destruction which may have occurred when Nebuchadnezzar conquered the city and captured its prince in 600 BC, Ashdod seems to have experienced a decline in importance and population though it was occupied through the Byzantine period.[135]

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[128] Ibid., Vol. 13 (1963) pp.141-2. Excavated during two short campaigns by a joint expedition of the Department of Antiquities, the Department of Archaeology of Hebrew University, the Israel Exploration Society, the American Institute of Holy Land Studies, and Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary.

[129] Excavated on behalf of Carnegie Museum, Pittsburgh, the Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, and the Department of Antiquities.

[130] I.E.J., Vol. 15 (1965) pp. 259-260.

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[131] After expelling the Hyksos from Egypt in the early sixteenth century, the Pharoahs of the New Kingdom Egypt re-established Egyptian suzerainty over Palestine and Syria, and established Ashdod and other cities to control the Via Maris.

[132] The transition from the last Canaanite settlement which probably covered the whole top of the tell and was defended by a brick wall to the occupation levels of the Philistines is marked by a thick level of ashes of the 13th century BC.

[133] Possibly by King Uzziah (II Chronicles 26:6)

[134] I.E.J., Vol. 12 (1962) pp. 147-8.

The quest for the elusive Gath of the Philistines led to the investigation of Tell Nagila and the mistaken identification of an Arab caravanserai which was part of the upper stratum of the site.[136] Excavated by an expedition headed by R. Amiran, the ten-acre site contained fourteen identified strata representing a history of occupation with the Chalcolithic to the Mameluke period (fourth millenium BC to circa. 1500 AD.) though habitation was not continuous.[137] While the extent of the Chalcolithic settlement is still unknown, architectural remains suggested an impressive settlement during Early Bronze II and III periods followed by an hiatus of six hundred to seven hundred years. During the time when the

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[135] M. Dothan, "Ashdod - Preliminary Report on the Excavations in Seasons 1962/63." I.E.J., Vol. 14 (1964) pp. 79-95, pl. 17-22; Cf., I.E.J., Vol. 13 (1963) pp. 340-2; Archaeology, Vol. 16 (1963) pp. 61-62. (Remains of large structures and rich industry indicate a thriving settlement during the Hellenistic period.)

[136] S. Buelow and R.A. Mitchell, "An Iron Age II Fortress on Tel Nagila." I.E.J., Vol. 11 (1961) pp. 101-110, pl. 26-27. Cf., B. Mazar, "Gath and Gittaim." I.E.J., Vol. 4 (1954) pp. 227-235.

[137] Ruth Amiran and A. Eitan. "A Canaanite-Hyksos City at Tell Nagila." Archaeology, Vol. 18 (1965) pp. 113-123.

Hyksos reigned over both Palestine and Egypt (Middle Bronze II BC),[138] Nagila achieved its most prosperous period. Archaeological evidence suggested that the Late Bronze Age city was only sparsely populated, and the site was completely abandoned during Iron Age I. From 1000 to 586 BC (Iron II) unfortified settlements existed both on the tell and on two natural slopes south of it, where especially rich finds of the seventh century were unearthed. Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine remains were scarce.[139]

Archaeological excavations at Tell Arad, the largest and most important tell in the eastern Negeb began in 1962 under the direction of Y. Aharoni and R. Amiran.[140] Settlement of the site began at the end of the Chalcolithic period (the second half of the fourth millenium BC) and continued through the early phase of Early Bronze Age (beginning of the third millenium BC) when the city covered twenty-five acres and was fortified by a two-meter wall.[141] After the destruction of the Early Bronze city, the site remained in ruins for two thousand years until its revival by Solomon who built a citadel there, when only an unfortified village with several houses, courtyards and grain silos occupied the area.[142] The site during the Iron II period from the tenth to the beginning of the sixth century had at least seven phases of occupation. During the ninth century, the fortress was surrounded by a solid wall, three to four meters thick. The last two Israelite fortresses, belonging to the days of Hezekiah and later, were surrounded by a casemate wall with projecting towers similar to those of Kadesh-barnea. Most significant was the first discovery in excavation of a royal Israelite sanctuary which existed from the ninth century BC to its destruction during the time of Hezekiah.[143] At least five strata of later periods were also excavated.[144]

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[138] 1750 to 1550 BC.

[139] R. Amiran, "A Preliminary Note of the First Season of Excavations at Tell Nagila, 1962." Christian News From Israel, Vol. 13 (1962) pp. 24-26. Cf., I.E.J., Vol. 13 (1963) pp. 143-4, 333-4.

[140] Campaigns were conducted during 1962, 1963, 1964, and 1965 on behalf of the Department of Antiquities, Hebrew University, and the Israel Exploration Society.

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[141] The discovery of an abundance of red-burnished jars of 'Abydos ware' and lumps of Dead Sea asphalt suggested that Tel Arad was a center for the manufacture and export of these products to Egypt where they were found in First Dynasty tombs.

[142] I.E.J., Vol. 13 (1963) pp. 334-7.

[143] Y. Aharoni and R. Amiran, "Excavations at Tel Arad - Preliminary Report on the First Season, 1962." I.E.J., Vol. 14 (1964) pp. 131-147, pl. 31-38; Also, Vol. 15 (1965) pp. 249-252.

[144] Persian remains (fifth to fourth century BC), Hellenistic tower and settlement, Roman fortress, Early Arab settlement, and Mameluke tombs, indicated later occupation.

A number of other sites were excavated during 1962. E. Wreschner, M. Stekelis, and G. Haas continued excavations in the Geulah Caves on Mount Carmel with the recovery of an extensive Levallois flint industry.[145] Me'arat Shovakh (Mugharet esh-Shubbabiq), a cave in Wadi el-'Amud near Tiberias, was excavated by S.R. and L.R. Binford, and yielded a Mousterian ensemblage from repeated occupations by the Neanderthal populations in the area.[146] Excavations at Tell Aphek by A. Eitan for the Department of Antiquities recovered remains of Early Bronze, Middle Bronze II, Late Bronze, Iron Age II and Roman Periods.[147]

The French Archaeological Mission in Israel under the direction of J. Perrot conducted a number of excavations during 1962. Excavations continued in the prehistoric cultures of Ḥorvat Minḥah (Munḥata) in the Jordan Valley twelve kilometers south of the Sea of Galilee.[148] During the month of November, trenches opened east of Tell Abu Zureiq at Hazorea yielded occupational remains important to the study of transition from Palaeolithic to Bronze Ages. Tel Turmus was explored and revealed parallels to Beth-shan XVIII. The discovery of a Ghassulian necropolis with ossuaries at Ben Shemen provided new insights into the problem of such ossuaries as were previously found at Hadera, Benei Beraq, Givataim, Azor and Yavneh.[149]

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[145] E. Wreschner, M. Avnimelech and S. Angress, "The Geulah Caves, Haifa - Preliminary Report." I.E.J., Vol. 10 (1960) pp. 78-89. Excavations continued in 1964 (Carbon 14 examination produced a date of 42,000 plus or minus 1700 BP.) Cf., I.E.J., Vol. 13 (1963) p. 138; Vol. 14 (1964) pp. 277-8.

[146] Sally R. Binford, "Me'arat Shovakh (Mugharet esh-Shubbabiq)." I.E.J., Vol. 16 (1966) pp. 18-31; 96-103.

[147] I.E.J., Vol. 12 (1962) pp. 151-2.

In April to May 1963, E. Anati directed soundings at Tell Abu Hawam near Haifa for the Department of Antiquities. Earlier excavations had been directed by R.W. Hamilton (in the early thirties) who investigated occupation on the site at the end of the Bronze Age and during the Iron Age,[150] and by E. Anati who excavated part of the Late Bronze cemetery nearby in 1952.[151] The 1963 excavations in the earliest level of the site found a temporary settlement with pebble floors, open-air ovens and traces of hut foundations seemingly belonging to fishermen. Following a period of abandonment, stone buildings and a fortification wall were constructed during the fifteenth century BC. The destruction levels and debris of three periods of occupation, with the second containing numerous potsherds of imported Cypriote and Mycenean ware, were identified. The final, Bronze Age settlement was destroyed in the thirteenth century BC.[152]

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[148] From September 25 to January 5, 1963; continued July 7 to August 21, 1963, September 15 to November 15, 1964, and May 16 to July 4, 1965. _Ibid._, Vol. 13 (1963) pp. 138-140; Vol. 14 (1964) pp. 108-9, 278-280.

[149] _Ibid._, Vol. 13 (1963) pp. 140-1.

[150] R.W. Hamilton, _Q.D.A.P._, Vol. 4 (1935) pp. 1-69.

[151] E. Anati, _'Atiqot,_ Vol. 2 (1959) pp. 89-102.

Minor excavations throughout the country continued. A Lower Palaeolithic site at Holon near Tel Aviv was excavated by T. Yizraeli for the Department of Antiquities in July.[153] A number of rock-cut burial caves on the slope of a hill between Motsa and Mevasseret Yerushalayim were excavated and contained a variety of pottery from the eighth-seventh centuries BC. A burial cave from Middle Bronze I was discovered and cleared during building operations in Upper Nazareth.[154] Soundings in Beersheba by R. Gophna for the Department of Antiquities in December 1962 and February 1963 discovered an

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[152] I.E.J., Vol. 13 (1963) pp. 142-3; (Cf., Archaeology, Vol. 16 (1963) pp. 210-1.)

[153] Ibid., p. 137; Cf., T. Yizraeli, "A Lower Palaeolithic Site at Holon - Preliminary Report," I.E.J., Vol. 17 (1967) pp. 144-152.

[154] Ibid., p. 145.

Iron Age II town which began during the eighth century and reached its greatest extent (twenty-five acres) during the seventh century BC.[155] In October, Y. Aharoni directed a trial excavation at Horvat Dorban (Khirbet esh-Sheikh Ibrahim), a site occupied from the Iron Age to the Early Arab period. The clearing of a cave of the northern slope of the site indicated it had originally been inhabited and later filled with an abundance of Persian pottery.[156]

Excavations at Tell Sippor, a small mound situated in the heart of the Philistine Plain, were conducted by A. Biran and O. Negbi during three short seasons in 1963, 1964, and 1965.[157] The investigation revealed occupation during the Middle Bronze Age I, Late Bronze Age II (5 phases), and Early Iron Age I (3 phases, with one phase between LB II and EI I not clear).[158] The well-defined Late Bronze and Early Iron suggested that the last Canaanite settlement may have escaped destruction due to the tell's small size. The Canaanite remains beneath the Philistine floors contained no trace of fire or destruction intervening between the two.[159] The abundance and quality of the Philistine pottery in Stratum II seemed to indicate that a fairly prosperous community existed on the site during the mid-twelfth to the mid-eleventh centuries BC. Cultural continuity seemed to continue to the abandonment of the site at the end of the eleventh or at the latest, at the beginning of the tenth century BC.[160]

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[155] Ibid., pp. 145-6.

[156] Ibid., p. 337.

[157] First surveyed in 1960 by R. Gophna and M. Busheri of the Department of Antiquities and Museums.

[158] I.E.J., Vol. 13 (1963) pp. 338-340.

During December 1963 and January 1964, M. Kochavi directed a salvage excavation at Tel Isdar, eighteen kilometers east of Beersheba. More than two thousand years after its first occupation during the Chalcolithic period, fifteen to twenty houses were built in a rough circle along the brow of the hill to form a large enclosure belonging to the Early Iron Age (late eleventh century BC). The third settlement consisted of a farm complex dated to the Judean Monarchy (tenth to ninth centuries BC.[161]

In January 1964 G. Edelstein directed the excavation of three burial caves, with a pottery ensemblage belonging to the Late Bronze Age I and II and including Syrian and Cypriote imports, at Kibbutz Bahan east of Natanyah.[162] An eleventh-tenth century BC fort on the shore of the Dead Sea just north of Mount S'dom (Jebel Usdum) was excavated during April by Y. Aharoni. This Edomite fort, which had protected the Zoar Valley from the west was apparently captured and destroyed by fire during David's reign. Together with a smaller fort west of 'Ein Tamar, this fort formed part of a defense line from the 'boundary of Edom', mentioned in the Bible.[163]

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[159] *Ibid*., Vol. 14 (1964) pp. 284-5; Vol. 15 (1965) pp. 255-6.

[160] A. Biran and O. Negbi, "The Stratigraphical Sequence at Tel Ṣippor." *I.E.J.*, Vol. 16 (1966) pp. 160-173.

[161] *I.E.J.*, Vol. 14 (1964) pp. 11-2.

Excavations at Tel Zeror in the Sharon Plain east of Haderah under the direction of K. Ohata and M. Kochavi began during the summer of 1964.[164] A double-acropolis mound covering an area of forty dunams (ten acres), the site was first inhabited in the Middle Bronze Age (circa. 2000 BC) by settlers who built their city on a natural hill which they surrounded by a thick brick wall built on stone foundations. Twice destroyed, the city was rebuilt at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age (fifteenth century BC) with a high and wide earthen ramp. Nevertheless, during the New Kingdom period, the city was destroyed six times, probably by the Egyptian armies passing through the Sharon Valley on their way north. At the end of the Late Bronze Age (thirteenth century BC) the city was abandoned. Occupied at the time of Israelite settlement in the area, the first Israelite city was destroyed by the Philistines whose presence was suggested by sherds on the site. The Israelite settlement was renewed in the days of the United Monarchy and probably formed part of the third of King Solomon's administrative districts, with the citadel built on the northern rise of the mound. A thick burnt layer marked the final Israelite settlement, and was followed by an agricultural community during the Persian Period (fifth century BC).[165]

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[162] Ibid., p. 111.

[163] Ibid., pp. 112-3.

[164] Directed for the Archaeological Expedition of the Society for Near Eastern Studies in Japan. Continued in July and August 1965.

The Tokyo University Scientific Expedition to Western Asia excavated 'Amud Cave north of Tiberias from September to November 1964. There was no distinct stratigraphical difference in the palaeolithiic artifacts.[166]

An expedition, intent on re-evaluating the findings of Macalister at Gezer, was directed by G.E. Wright for the Hebrew

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[165] The site also had remains of a large stone Hellenistic building from the Ptolemaic period (third century BC) and a poor settlement during the first century BC. I.E.J., Vol. 14 (1964) pp. 283-4; Vol. 15 (1965) pp. 253-5.

[166] *Ibid.*, Vol. 15 (1965) p. 246; Cf., Vol. 11 (1961) pp. 189-191.

Union College.[167] The first recorded evidence that Nebuchadnezzar destroyed the city came from a stratum of severe destruction belonging to the end of the Judean period. Two other strata east of the so-called 'Maccabean Castle' come from the late ninth or eighth century, and the earliest from Solomonic times.[168]

J. Kaplan directed excavation at Kfar Gil'adi extending exposure of four Chalcolithic and two Neolithic phases of occupation.[169] In March 1965, excavations were begun in an Iron Age cemetery discovered at the foot of Tel Ḥalif (Khuweilifa), some nine kilometers south of Tell Beit Mirsim, under the direction of A. Biran and R. Gophna. The findings of a burial cave dated to the 10th to 8th century BC including three hundred and fifty complete pottery vessels (Cypro-Phoenician juglets, etc.)[170]

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[167] Also for the Harvard Semitic Museum, with W.G. Dever and H.D. Lance assisting the Director.

[168] I.E.J., Vol. 15 (1965) pp. 252-3.

[169] A radio-carbon date of some charcoal remains found in the lowest Neolithic phase was determined as 8905 plus or minus 320 BP. I.E.J., Vol. 16 (1966) pp. 272-3; Cf., Vol. 8 (1958) p. 247.

[170] Ibid., Vol. 15 (1965) p. 255.

During 1965 four units of the Association for the Archaeological Survey of Israel were in operation.[171] The survey of the 'Athlit area included about one hundred and forty sites of which about two-thirds were previously unknown. In the region of S'deh Boqer, one hundred and five of one hundred and forty-five sites surveyed were previously unknown. Density of settlement in the Negeb was greater than previously assumed. Four periods of settlement were evident: prehistoric stations, sometimes at cave entrances, Middle Bronze I settlements or buildings, Israelite settlements, and Roman-Byzantine settlements (extending to the seventh and eighth centuries AD.).[172]

With renewed extensive participation by foreign institutions following 1950, archaeological excavation and survey gradually increased during the period from 1940 to 1965 until it had surpassed the production level between the World Wars.[173] The nature of the individual excavations had changed. Because of the growing costs and a new approach which was concerned more with "problem" solving, the aim had changed from endeavoring to remove stratum after stratum from the whole tell

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[171] Founded in 1964 in accordance with a decision of the Archaeological Council.

[172] Ibid., Vol. 15 (1965) pp. 263-4.

[173] See Archaeological Maps in Appendix.

(e.g., Megiddo) to gaining specific information from limited areas on a site which would complete one aspect of the country's cultural history. Thus excavations were directed to confirm or correct the findings of previous excavations (e.g., Megiddo, Gezer); to clarify specific periods (e.g., Palaeolithic, (Naḥal 'Amud, Me'arat Shovakh); Middle Bronze I, (Har Yeruḥam); or the Philistine Period (Tell Ashdod, Tell Ṣippor); to determine borders during specific periods (e.g., Tell Arad in the Eastern Negeb, 'Ein Gev, shifting between Israelite and Aramean rule); to establish the location of a city (e.g. Tell Nagila); or to determine the cultural chronology of a site within an area of which little has previously been known (e.g. Tell Zeror). Chance finds and salvage operations have increasingly been an important aspect of the work or the Departments of Antiquities as industrialization and increased population has called for extensive building operations and urbanization throughout the countries of the Near East.

It can only be hoped that adequate evaluations and syntheses of the information gleaned by the field archaeologists will be forthcoming for the use not only of the bible scholar but also of the secular historian, not so closely related to the physical aspects of Palestinian archaeology.

Until this is done with a diligence and dedication equal to that demonstrated in connection with field work, the contribution of archaeology will be unduly withheld, and the justification of huge expenditures on excavation will be questionable.

IV. THE DEVELOPMENT OF PALESTINIAN CULTURE

A consideration of the many excavations, both large and small, and the surveys of various areas of the country clearly indicates the wealth of archaeological information which has been added to the understanding of the culture and biblical history of Palestine. Though it is evident that much effort has been made to shorten the time lapse between the excavation and the evaluation and publication of the finds, the true benefits of archaeological activity in the field are still dependent upon prompt and thorough interpretation by the excavator and scholar, and therefore the true state of knowledge is only partially, and sometimes inadequately, reflected in the discussion of preliminary reports.

The basic historical phenomena have become clear through archaeological discoveries in Palestine; the material culture of the region is poorer than that of the two great civilizations of Mesopotamia to the North and the Nile Valley in Egypt to the South, and, because of the constant struggle of these two great powers to control this important buffer area for defense and trade, not only are there no long static periods, but the process of development of the material culture both through local change and as influenced from the outside is often rapid.[1]

1. Earliest Remains of Man in Palestine

Palestine, and especially the Jordan Valley, has played a most significant role in the history of early man.[2] At a site called 'Ubeidiya, near Kibbutz Afiqim just below the Sea of Galilee, the earliest anthropoid remains, two small fragments of a skull and an incisor tooth were found in layers of clay and gravel containing fossilized bones of some forty different species of extinct animals.[3] The 'pebble' tools used by this culture were also found at Khirbet Maskana, a hill not far from Tiberias.[4]

The Afiqim 'pebble' culture is followed by two other Lower Palaeolithic traditions, the Biblical 'core' tools and the Tabunian flake tools.[5] Mr. Stekelis conducted the most significant excavations in the recovery of this culture at Jisr Bnat Yaqub in the Jordan Valley and at Rephaim-Baq'a in Jerusalem.[6] While Early Bifacial tools finds have been limited to these two sites, Middle Bifacial artifacts have also been recovered at Mayan Baruch, also in the Upper Jordan Valley, and at Umm Qatafa in the Judean Desert, where the earliest known cave-deposits of bifacial tools seem to be associated with the earliest evidence of fireplaces and man's mastery over fire in the Near East. While the Middle Bifacial culture is limited to finds at six or seven sites, Late Bifacial tools have been recovered throughout the northern Jordan Valley, along Israel's northern coast, the Negeb and the plateau region of Transjordan as well as in stratified deposits at Umm Qatafa, in Tabun in the Carmel range and Yabrud rock-shelter.[7]

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[1] Ruth B.K. Amiran, "The Story of Pottery in Palestine." Antiquity and Survival II (1957) No. 2-3, p. 187.

[2] Excavations in the Mediterranean Basin have recovered 31% of all known skeletons of early man, with 25% being found in Israel. Cf., M. Stekelis, I.E.J., Vol. 10 (1960) p. 47.

[3] M. Stekelis, Archaeological Excavations at 'Ubeidiya, 1960-1963. Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1966.

[4] E. Anati, Palestine Before the Hebrews. New York: A.A. Knopf, 1963. pp. 59-62.

The Tabunian culture of the Near East is identified with the excavations of Dorothy Garrod, who recovered this culture in the lowest layer of deposits in the Tabun cave in the Carmel range.[8] The three type-sites of this culture, Umm Qatafa, Tabun, and Yabrud, also represent the major phases of development prior to the lengthy transition into the Middle Palaeolithic or Mousterian culture.[9]

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[5] Also called Abbevillian and Acheulean, after two type-sites in Northern France where these artifacts were first dated.

[6] Q.D.A.P., Vol. VI (1939) pp. 214-15; Vol. VII (1940) p. 45.

[7] E. Anati, op. cit., pp. 65-70.

The Middle Palaeolithic is represented by closely related flint cultures from excavated caves in various parts of Palestine. Because of climatic conditions in the region, human skeletal remains are frequently recovered, with at least ten burials found in the Skhul cave at Mount Carmel, and one at Tabun. The oldest human remains in the Mousterian complex in Palestine may be those of the Galilee man found at Mugharet ez-Zuttiyeh in Wadi el-'Amud,[10] followed by a male skeleton in the cave of Jebel Qafze and remains of two individuals found in Level C, Tabun, and the series of burials at Skhul. Though the picture is extremely fragmentary, the Mousterian era in Palestine saw small bands of big game hunters living in natural cave shelters where they roasted their food over large fireplaces. The population increased greatly throughout the Middle Palaeolithic times, with several hundred sites of Mousterian industries already identified in the Near East.[11]

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[8] D.A.E. Garrod and D.M.A. Bate, The Stone Age of Mount Carmel, Vol. I. London: Oxford University Press, 1937.

[9] Le Moustier, in Southern France, is the type-site.

[10] Wadi el-'Amud, northwest of the Sea of Galilee, contains four caves where excavation has recovered Mousterian cultural remains. Cf., S.R. Binford, "Me'arat Shovakh (Mugharet esh-Shubbabiq)." I.E.J., Vol. 16 (1966) pp. 18-32; pp. 96-103.

The transitional phase between the Middle and Upper Palaeolithic is best represented at Erq el-Ahmar in the Judean Desert, and is followed by two other cultures, the Atlitian, identified with the locality of Atlit, near Mount Carmel, and the Kebarian, named after the Kebara Cave nearby. Together with remains in the caves of El-Wad on Carmel and Emire in the Galilee, the period is represented by open-air sites, composed of small groups of stone circles which formed the perimeters of huts or tents, found in the Negeb, Sinai, and the Transjordan plateau. Excavations in Wadi Dhobai in Eastern Jordan at such a site indicate two flint industries, one in a late phase of the Upper Palaeolithic, probably contemporary with the Kebarian of Mount Carmel, and a later occupation in Early Neolithic times. These round and oval huts and caves continued as habitations in Mesolithic times and later in the period became larger hamlets and evolved into the world's first permanent settlements.[12]

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[11] Anati, op. cit., pp. 81-116.

[12] Anati, op. cit., pp. 111-135.

2. Urbanization and Agriculture in Palestine

A. Natufian (Mesolithic) Culture (*circa*. 10,000-8,000 BC)

This transitional period from the food-gathering economy of the Palaeolithic Age forming the end of cave-dwelling marks the beginning of urbanization and food production. Significant advances in technology began to make drastic changes in the life of Palestinian men. The bow and arrow and the trap for both fish and animals changed the locale and the nature of settlement. Though first excavated at Shuqbah in Wadi en-Natuf, northwest of Jerusalem, by Dorothy Garrod who uncovered about forty-five skeletons,[13] communities began to concentrate around lakes, marshes and along rivers and the seashore.[14] This culture with its characteristic microlithic industry formed the earliest transition into the Neolithic period of any part of the world. While Natufian hunters still roamed the Lower Jordan Valley around the oasis of Jericho.[15] 'Eynan ('Ein Mallaḥa), on the shore of Lake Hulah in the Upper Jordan Valley, had already become a permanent open-air Natufian settlement. Its round houses form the prototypes of Jericho's curvilinear houses in its post-Natufian context, as well as the round houses of the later 'Tahunian' level of the Naḥal Oren terrace.[16]

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[13] The habit of burying their dead within their settlement or cave has resulted in the recovery of skeletal remains in practically every excavated Natufian site, and over three hundred skeletons from this period in Palestine.

[14] Of the seventy or more Mesolithic sites identified, over forty are to be found along the Mediterranean coastline, fifteen in Wadi Kharaitun and other sites near Jerusalem, and two significant unrelated sites in the Jordan Valley, 'Eynan in the Hulah Valley and Jericho. Cf., Anati, p. 146.

B. Tahunian and Jerichoan (Neolithic) Culture (*circa*. 8000-5000 BC)

Neolithic life which began in the river valleys, such as the Jordan and Yarmuk, on the plains or in oasis-like conditions, bears unmistakable affinities to the Neolithic cultures of Mesopotamia.[17] Jericho, together with Jarmo in northeastern Iraq, marks the beginning of a village economy with its massive stone fortifications and stone tower covering an area of seven to eight acres. Sophisticated home construction included at least two phases which are now well-known; 'beehive' huts constructed of oval 'hog-backed' bricks, and large brick houses with courtyards, plastered, painted and polished walls, and mat-covered floors. It was the latter phase which practiced plaster sculpturing with the skulls of the deceased.[18] Identified as pre-pottery Neolithic, similar cultures have been identified at an open site at Abu Ghosh, west of Jerusalem, where finds indicated definite Syrian influences.[19] Also to be identified with this period in the development of Palestinian culture is Level B of the Abu Usba' cave[20] and other cave terrace deposits in Wadi Fallaḥ on the western slopes of Mount Carmel.[21]

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[15] W.F. Albright, The Archaeology of Palestine, pp. 58-60. (Note: Late Natufian at Jericho is dated 7800 plus or minus 210 BC by carbon 14. At Bheida, in eastern Jordan, one of the lower levels of prepottery Neolithic excavated by D. Kirkbride provided a radiocarbon date of 6830 plus or minus 200 BC.)

[16] Jean Perrot, "Excavations at 'Eynan ('Ein Mallaḥa)-Preliminary Report of the 1959 Season." I.E.J., Vol. 10 (1960) pp. 14-22; Cf., "Le Mésolithique de Palestine et les récentes découvertes à Eynan (Ain Mallaḥa)." Antiquity and Survival, Vol. II, No. 2/3, pp. 91-110.

[17] R.B.K. Amiran, op. cit., p. 193.

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[18] K. Kenyon, Digging Up Jericho, Chapter V.

[19] M. Avi-Yonah, "Ten Years of Archaeology in Israel." I.E.J., Vol. 8 (1958) p. 53; Cf., I.E.J., Vol. 1 (1950-51) p. 248.

[20] M. Stekelis and G. Haas, "The Abu Usba Cave (Mount Carmel)." I.E.J., Vol. 2 (1952) pp. 15-47.

[21] M. Stekelis, "Preliminary Report on Soundings in Prehistoric Caves in Palestine." B.A.S.O.R., No. 86 (1942) pp. 2-14.

C. Late Neolithic and Early Chalcolithic Culture (*circa*. 5000-3500 BC)

The Yarmukian culture,[22] paralleling Jericho VIII, which definitely was associated with a period earlier than the Ghassulian, was joined by a painted pottery phase from el-Ghrubba[23] in the Jordan Valley (a number of comparable pottery pieces were found in the lowest stratum at Megiddo XX).[24] Tell 'Eli (Khirbet esh-Sheikh 'Ali), a site south of the Sea of Galilee, not only yielded a Yarmukian culture but an earlier burnished pottery which had previously been unknown, suggesting that possibly knowledge of the cultural development of this period especially is very sparse.[25] With tools and other objects suggesting an origin in the east, the Yarmukian culture at Sha'ar ha-Golan, with a mixed economy of fishing, farming and hunting, had an outstanding tradition in art. About a hundred art objects, highly stylized and symbolic, and possibly associated with a fertility cult, demonstrated a sophistication which paralleled a long tradition of pottery making and decorating.[26] In addition to the few known sites from this period in Israel and Jordan, a much greater number of Neolithic sites lie hidden in the valleys of Galilee, along the Kishon watershed, the Carmel mountain range, the hills of Ephraim and Judah and along the rivers emptying into the Mediterranean in the south.[27]

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[22] The Yarmukian-Jericho VIII (dated plus or minus 4000 BC) is within the Chalcolithic Age. M. Stekelis, "A New Neolithic Industry: The Yarmukian of Palestine." *I.E.J.*, Vol. I (1950-51) pp. 1-19. Cf., G. Ernest Wright, "The Archaeology of Palestine." *BANE*, p. 94.

[23] James Mellaart, "The Neolithic Site of Ghrubba." *A.D.J.A.*, Vol. III (1956) pp. 24-40.

[24] The lowest material from bedrock at Megiddo was mixed and from various periods prior to 3000 BC including el-Ghrubba, Yarmukian-Jericho VIII, possibly Ghassulian and Early Bronze I.

[25] *I.E.J.*, Vol. 7 (1957) pp. 263-4; Vol. 10 (1960) pp. 119-20.

D. Ghassulian Culture (*circa*. 3500-3200 BC)

The development of settled life in the Chalcolithic period is clear. Bronze Age accumulations which accounted for most of the tells in Palestine in most instances seem to hide a Chalcolithic village at their centers.[28] With open villages widely scattered over the plains and valleys of Palestine, this period, committed to farming, was named following the excavation of a cluster of small mounds on the eastern side of the Jordan Valley, just north of the Dead Sea called Teleilat el-Ghassul by the Pontifical Biblical Institute.[29] Remains of excellent rectangular houses, some with complex wall paintings, and distinctive ceramic and flint tradition, have been found in the remains of a number of sites along the Jordan Valley at Tell el-Mefjar, Tell Abu Habil, Jiftlik, and Tell esh-Shuneh.[30] Represented in the north at 'Affule,[31] the culture extended to the Beersheba Basin in the northern Negeb. At Tell Abu Matar, Tell es-Safadi and Khirbet el-Bitar, excavations revealed at least four distinct occupational phases which traced the development of the villages from subterranean catacombs to rectangular homes on stone foundations which paralleled the Ghassulian constructions.[32] This Beersheba culture which developed in the northern Negeb was clearly distinct from the Chalcolithic cultures in northern Palestine during the same period and may have originated in Transjordan.[33] The culture of the Beersheba Basin settlement, especially in its pottery, may have been an intermediary stage between the true Chalcolithic and the beginning of the Early Bronze Age.[34]

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[26] E. Anati, *op. cit*., pp. 263-9.

[27] M.W. Prausnitz, "The First Agricultural Settlements in Galilee." *I.E.J*., Vol. 9 (1959) pp. 166-174.

[28] R.B.K. Amiran, *op. cit*., p. 193.

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[29] A. Mallon, R. Koeppel, et al., Teleilat Ghassul, Vol. 1 (Rome, 1934); Vol. II (Rome, 1940).

[30] James Mellaart, "Preliminary Report of the Archaeological Survey in the Yarmuk and Jordan Valley for the Point Four Irrigation Scheme." A.J.D.A., Vol. VI and VII (1962) pp. 126-157.

[31] I.E.J., Vol. 2 (1952) p. 142.

[32] J. Perrot, "The Excavations at Tell Abu Matar, Near Beersheba," I.E.J., Vol. 5 (1955) pp. 17-40, 73-84, 167-189.

[33] Ibid., p. 189.

3. The First City States in Palestine

A. Early Bronze I (*circa*. 3200-2800 BC)

Throughout the Near East the end of the fourth millennium BC was a time of political ferment and migration. Along the Levantine coast the largely isolated, peaceful pastoral oases changed into major city states with a vigorous material culture characterized by foreign influence through international trade. While the final stages of the Southern Chalcolithic culture continued in the Beersheba Basin, new cultures emerged in the north. The most important of these, identified by a "grey-burnished ware," appeared suddenly in northern Palestine and slowly spread southward along the Jordan Valley and the coastal plains reaching the lower Jordan Valley *circa* 3260 BC.[35] Originating somewhere north of the Syrian Desert and flourishing in the Esdraelon Valley, the grey-burnished ware was gradually replaced during the thirty-second century BC by a new type of pottery decorated with parallel and crisscross patterns. Thus the remains of material culture bear witness to the growing pressures upon the area exerted by the two major centers of Near Eastern civilization, Mesopotamia and Egypt. Mesopotamian influences were prominent in architectural methods,[36] 'metallic ware', and the use of seal impressions as trademarks. While international caravans moved along the coastal highway, harbors rapidly developed along the Levantine coast to serve the merchant ships in the thirteenth century BC.[37]

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[34] R.B.K. Amiran, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

[35] J.B. Pritchard, *A.A.S.O.R.*, Vols. XXXII-XXXIII (1958) pp. 14ff. (Found at Tulul Abu el-Alayiq, near Jericho.)

While the 'Abydos vases' found in the First Dynasty tombs of Egypt indicate the continued trade relations with Palestine, communications were now increased through large-scale military penetrations.[38] Egyptian trade and political influence were especially marked along the coast, while the interior, hill-country, with fewer or no international contacts, maintained its agricultural independence.

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[36] The Mesopotamian architectural use of mud brick was adopted in Palestine, except in the hill country.

[37] E. Anati, op. cit., pp. 350-4.

[38] Yigael Yadin, "The Earliest Record of Egypt's Military Penetration into Asia?" I.E.J., Vol. 5 (1955) pp. 1-16. Cf., M.W. Prausnitz, "Abydos and Combed Ware," P.E.Q., Vol. 86 (1954), pp. 91-96.

B. Early Bronze II (*circa*. 2800-2600 BC) and IIIA (*circa.* 2600-2300 BC)

Northern Palestine experienced one of its most flourishing periods as excavations of well-built towns at Beth-Yerah (III), Beth-shan (XIII), Megiddo (XVIII-XVI), Jericho (IV), and other sites indicate.[39] While isolated finds of Egyptian vessels and artifacts on Palestinian sites indicate the growing trade relations, an assemblage of Egyptian material in Stratum V at Tell Gath (Tell esh-Sheykh 'Aḥmed el-'Areyni) probably resulted from an Egyptian invasion and short-lived domination of southern Palestine.[40] At the same time, objects found in a tomb at Kinnereth and at et-Tell suggest that some contacts were maintained with Anatolia and Caucasia.[41] While the foreign contacts and international trade were producing a thriving economy, a growing insecurity is evident in the architectural remains. The large stone wall at Megiddo which at the beginning of Early Bronze II was four to five meters wide was doubled in width to nearly eight meters. Fortifications at Tell el-Far'ah, constructed at the end of Early Bronze II of brick on an earth and stone foundation, reached a width of twelve meters.[42] A massive public building at Beth Yeraḥ covering an area of over twelve hundred square meters, may have served as a communal storage center. Its walls of large basalt blocks were ten meters thick,[43] and suggested the importance attributed to the building and the political insecurity of the area. The period is characterized by massive construction, especially in the defense systems of the administrative centers.

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[39] W.F. Albright, The Archaeology of Palestine, p. 74.

[40] S. Yeiven, "Early Contacts Between Canaan and Egypt," I.E.J., Vol. 10 (1960) pp. 193-203.

[41] E. Anati, *op. cit.*, p. 356.

Sometime during the twenty-seventh century BC, a new ethnic group penetrated northern Palestine and became the predominant population north of the Esdraelon Valley and filtered southward.[44] A people, seemingly separatist, established themselves only at a few large and well-fortified sites where they preserved their exotic culture, including a distinctive, handmade pottery for possibly three hundred years. While the

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[42] G.E. Wright, "The Archaeology of Palestine," BANE, p. 101.

[43] B. Maisler, M. Stekelis, and M. Avi-Yonah, "The Excavations at Beth Yeraḥ (Khirbet el-Kerak) 1944-1946" I.E.J., Vol. 2 (1952), pp. 165-173; 218-229.

[44] Khirbet Kerak ware left a clear trail of the migration from mid-eastern Anatolia, via the 'Amuq Valley, to Beth Yeraḥ and other sites in the vicinity at the beginning of Early Bronze III, only to disappear a century or two later. Cf. R.B.K. Amiran, op. cit., p. 195.

Khirbet Kerak culture, during a period of strong economic advance late in the twenty-fifth or early in the twenty-fourth century BC began absorbing local tradition, its end seems to coincide with the military expedition to Asia of Pharoah Pepi I.[45]

C. Early Bronze IIIB (circa. 2300-2100 BC) and Middle Bronze I (circa. 2100-1900 BC).

The violent destructions which completely decimated the Early Bronze civilization began before the end of Early Bronze III at Megiddo and Tell el-Far'ah where the Khirbet Kerak ware had not become common.[46] Beth-shan, Beth Yeraḥ, Tell esh-Shuneh, Jericho and Ai together with every other excavated or explored site in Palestine was either destroyed or experienced an hiatus of occupation before the Middle Bronze Age. This was the period when invaders totally disrupted life in Palestine leaving no clearly consistent picture of either settlement or destruction sequence.[47] By the twenty-first and twentieth centuries BC, according to archaeological evidence, a new population had settled in unwalled towns throughout the hill country,[48] the Jordan Valley and ransjordan on the east,[49] and throughout the Negeb in the South.[50] Copper weapons now replaced flint knives, and while occupation was limited in population and time, in the Negeb at least two phases of settlement have been identified in the architecture of the period.[51] Probably originating in Northern Mesopotamia, altogether new and different ceramic features are considered evidence for the identification of this ethnic group with the Amorites.[52] Probably groups of tribes which had been forced from their homelands, the Amorites were an important factor in the early historical documents of the Egyptians, Mesopotamians, and Hittites as late as the Iron Age.[53]

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[45] E. Anati, op. cit., pp. 356-361.

[46] Archaeological evidence suggests the confrontation of two major trends, the expansion of permanent settlements and sedentary populations, and the incursion of nomadic and semi-nomadic people from non-fertile regions, was at first resolved harmoniously during a period of prosperity. But the sudden appearance of new cultural and political pressures erupted the country into forced migrations and warfare. Cf. E. Anati, op. cit., pp. 361-2.

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[47] G. Ernest Wright, BANE, pp. 103-6.

[48] Ruth Amiran, "The Pottery of the Middle Bronze Age I in Palestine," I.E.J., Vol. 10 (1960) p. 213.

[49] W.F. Albright, "Early Bronze Pottery from Bab ed-Dra' in Moab," B.A.S.O.R., No. 95 (1944) pp. 3-10. Also N. Glueck, A.A.S.O.R., Vols. XVIII-XIX (1939); Vols. XXV-XXVIII (1951); B.A.S.O.R., No. 131 (1952) pp. 7ff.; No. 142 (1956) pp. 17ff.

[50] N. Gleuck. "The Age of Abraham in the Negeb," B.A., Vol. XVIII (1955), pp. 2ff.

[51] Excavations at Har Yeruḥam in the Negeb south of Beersheba, in which the writer participated in 1962, uncovered rectangular and circular houses representing occupations separated by a period of abandonment.

[52] R.B.K. Amiran, op. cit., p. 199.

D. Middle Bronze II A (*circa*. 1900-1750/1700 BC): Amorite Settlement

During the time of the Egyptian Twelfth Dynasty, Syria and Palestine were engulfed by a vigorous new culture. The prosperity of the era was initiated by a strong domination of the 'Amorite' settlement which reached from Northern Mesopotamia through Palestine, though already at the end of the twentieth century BC, Egypt was exerting a dominant political influence as far north as central Syria. But with the fall of the Twelfth Dynasty, (*circa*. 1778 BC) Palestine was free to develop independently.[54]

E. Middle Bronze II B (*circa*. 1750/1700-1650/1625 BC) and 11 C (*circa*. 1650/1625-1550/1500 BC): The Hyksos Period

Since the Tell el-Yahudiyeh Ware accompanies most of the archaeological finds of the second part of this period all over Phoenicia, Cyprus, Palestine and Egypt, there is some justification in assigning this pottery to the Hyksos, the foreign dynasties, who ruled Egypt for about a century and a half.[55] While there is no trace of their migration southward through Palestine, there must have been a mass infiltration of Egypt prior to their usurption of power. Their rule over Palestine which began shortly after the middle of the eighteenth century BC introduced horse-drawn chariotry as an important method of warfare. Ceramic shapes (fragile pottery imitating metallic forms) from this period imply the increased importance of metal, and fortifications of sloping ramps of packed earth (terre pisée), correlated chronologically with the "Hyksos" conquest of Egypt by Professor Albright, have been found at nearly every ruined Palestinian city of this period.[56] The inner structure of the country again conformed to a series of rivalling city-states with royal palaces dominating the major cities, with political rule imposed from Egypt.[57] With the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt before the end of the reign of Amosis I the revived Egyptian empire devastated Palestinian cities whose Hyksos princes resisted Egyptian control. Tell Beit Mirsim, Megiddo, and possibly Beth-zur and Jericho remains indicate the completeness of the Egyptian conquest.[58]

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[53] E. Anati, *op. cit*., pp. 362-6.

[54] W.F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine*, p. 85.

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[55] R.B.K. Amiran, op. cit., p. 200.

[56] W.F. Albright, The Archaeology of Palestine, p. 86. Evidence from excavations by M. Kochavi at Tell el-Milḫ in the Negeḇ indicates that these fortifications possibly should be dated prior to the Hyksos period. (Personal communication with the excavator at Tell el-Milḫ, August 1967.) Note: Y. Yadin, "Hyksos Fortifications and the Battering-Ram," B.A.S.O.R., No. 137 (1955) pp. 23-32. (These earthen constructions are interpreted as a means of keeping the newly introduced battering-ram from the immediate proximity of the walls of the city.)

F. Late Bronze Age I (*circa*. 15th century BC), II A (14th century BC), and II B (13th century BC).

The violent destruction of the "Hyksos" cities throughout the country was rapid and marked the renewal of a lengthy Egyptian domination. Subsequent Pharaohs frequently fought in the country to maintain their control. Megiddo IX and Tell el-'Ajjul were destroyed *circa*. 1468 BC by Thutmose III.[59] Palestine paid for the stability of the period imposed by Egyptian military power. Egyptian taxation assured the steady decline of the wealth and culture which Canaan had enjoyed earlier.[60] Egyptian stelae and statues were set up in many towns and fortresses of Palestine[61] and only contacts with the north and imports from Greece kept the country from becoming an uncultured reflection of Egypt.

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[57] W.F. Albright, *op. cit*., pp. 90ff.; Cf. G.E. Wright, *BANE*, p. 110.

[58] *Ibid*., p. 87.

[59] W.F. Albright, "The Chronology of a South Palestinian City, Tel el-'Ajjul," *A.J.S.L.*, Vol. LV (1938) pp. 337-59.

[60] *idem*., pp. 99-101.

The destruction of a series of sites in the hill country (Tell Beit Mirsim C 2, Bethel LB, Lachish Temple III, and possibly Beth Shemesh IV B) and Hazor in the north (the enclosure to the north of the acropolis) probably by the invading Israelite tribes, and the destruction of other cities in the plains (Megiddo VII B, Beth-shan VII, Tell Abu Hawam V, etc.) at the beginning of the twelfth century by the "Sea Peoples" drastically changed the character of Palestinian population and culture.[62]

4. The Israelite Era in Palestine

A. Iron Age I (Twelfth-tenth centuries BC inclusive)[63]

Following the Isrealites' rapid succession of victories in the hill country and the Shephelah, and a major thrust into the north in which Hazor was destroyed, the process of settlement was probably in progress by the end of the thirteenth century BC. Contained by the Canaanite chariotry and the massive fortresses which dotted the plains and valleys, the Israelites developed the waterproofing of cisterns to allow their growing population to settle in areas without natural water supply. Excavations at sites occupied by them, such as Shiloh, Bethel and Gibeah, have recovered a succession of crude structures belonging to the thirteenth and twelfth centuries BC. Canaanite construction and drainage systems fell into disrepair and disuse. The occupation of the two-storey patrician houses, which had escaped destruction at Bethel and Tell Beit Mirsim, was in the storage rooms and servants quarters on the ground floor, rather than in the upper storey as intended.[64] Few repairs were made to fortress walls, and pottery was crude and utilitarian. The first phase of Israelite settlement extended into the lowlands according to evidence from Tell Beit Mirsim where a crude reoccupation occurred following the destruction of the Late Bronze city.[65]

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[61] idem., "The Smaller Beth-shan Stele of Sethos I (1308-1290 BC)," B.A.S.O.R., No. 125 (1952) pp. 24-32.

[62] G.E. Wright, BANE, p. 114.

[63] The chronological periods of W.F. Albright are being used. Israeli archaeologists have recommended a revised division of the Iron Age into Israelite I (1200-1000 BC), Israelite II (1000-840 BC), and Israelite III (840-587 BC). Y. Aharoni and Ruth Amiran, "A New Scheme for the Sub-division of the Iron Age in Palestine," I.E.J., Vol. 8 (1958) pp. 171-184.

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[64] W.F. Albright, The Archaeology of Palestine, pp. 110-120. The new inhabitants were seemingly unfamiliar with, or did not appreciate, the functional advantages of the second storey in such a structure.

[65] K. Kenyon, Archaeology in the Holy Land, pp. 236-9.

Archaeological survey and excavation has revealed a second area of penetration and settlement in the north during this period.[66] While the Upper Galilee, a fertile, spring-fed, low-lying plateau maintained a well-established and dense population, and a chain of important Canaanite cities from the Phoenician coast to the Upper Jordan Valley, in the highest of the Galilean mountains to the south, not a single Canaanite site was found but many small Iron Age settlements dated to the thirteenth-twelfth centuries BC. Though most of the settlements were fortified, some of them were on slopes and in valleys, in areas difficult to defend, suggesting that the Israelite tribes infiltrated these areas unoccupied by the thriving Canaanite civilization.[67]

During the eleventh century, the Israelite containment within the sanctuary of the hill country was further assured by the "Sea Peoples" who, early in the twelfth century BC, engulfed the entire coastal plain. About 1080 BC, the Philistines began to extend their control into the Israelite territory destroying many of the towns in Judah, and except for a short time at the beginning of Saul's reign (circa. 1020 BC) reduced the Israelites to subjection.[68]

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[66] Y. Aharoni, "Problems of the Israelite Conquest in the Light of Archaeological Discoveries," Antiquity and Survival, Vol. II:2-3, pp. 131-150.

[67] Y. Aharoni, I.E.J., Vol. 6 (1959) p. 130. (Note: The Israelite settlement of the Galilee mountains did not cease with the Assyrian conquest of 732 BC but continued into the times of the Second Temple.) Compare map in Appendix.

The best-known of the tribes of "Sea Peoples" which swept down the coastal plain at the beginning of the twelfth century BC, the Philistines were defeated by Ramses III in 1170 BC, and it is not unlikely that the Egyptians themselves settled the Philistines as frontier guards in the southern coastal plain of Palestine. With the decline of Egyptian power, the Philistines firmly established themselves at Gaza, the capital of Egyptian-held Canaan, and other cities in the southern coastal area, and then began to extend their domination. The extent of their influence and control may be traced by the distribution of a distinctive pottery which suggests not only their origin but their cultural contacts[69] enroute to their occupation of S. Palestine. They are also associated with anthropoid clay coffins which have been excavated at various sites throughout the country, e.g., Lachish, Tell el-Far'ah and Beth-shan.[70]

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[68] When Philistine power reached its zenith about the middle of the eleventh century BC, a number of destructions must be attributed to them at Shiloh, Tell Beit Mirsim B2, Beth-zur, either phase 2 or 3 of Iron Age Bethel, Beth-shemesh III and Megiddo VI B. G.E. Wright, BANE, pp. 116-7.

[69] Four distinct influences, Mycenaean, Cypriote, Egyptian and local Palestinian, in that order of importance, show the eclectic development in shape and decorative motifs of Philistine pottery. Locally-made Mycenaean III clb pottery at Sinda and Enkomi in Cyprus (dated to a phase between 1225-1175 BC) is the closest known parallel in shape and decoration to the Philistine pottery.

Tell Qasile, a Philistine naval and commercial center, was founded on the Yarkon not later than the middle of the twelfth century when Tell Jerishe and Jaffa, Canaanite towns, also became Philistine.[71] Maintaining a distinct military and cultural advantage over the Canaanites and Israelites through the eleventh century, the Philistines benefited greatly from control of the main trade routes, including the Via Maris and the coastal road.[72] By the third quarter of the eleventh century BC they reached their greatest territorial expansion, ruling over most of western Palestine. Excavation of Tell Qasile stratum X covering the middle of the eleventh century to the destruction of the city by David indicated the highest level of economic prosperity, followed by an Israelite city which continued to the time of Tiglath-pileser III.[73]

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[70] T. Dothan has suggested the settlement of Philistines at Beth-shan as mercenaries in the Egyptian army immediately after their defeat by Ramses III. Anthropoid coffins were found in tombs at Tell el Far'ah together with a representative collection of Philistine pottery. See T. Dothan, "Archaeological Reflections on the Philistine Problem" Antiquity and Survival, Vol. II, 2-3, pp. 154-164.

[71] B. Maisler, "The Excavations at Tell Qasile. Preliminary Reports." I.E.J., Vol. 1 (1950-51) pp. 61-76, 125-140, 194-218.

[72] The smelting furnaces uncovered in excavations at Tell Qasile point to the Philistine superiority in metal work and the iron monopoly they maintained.

The third phase of settlement during the tenth century saw the unification of the Israelites under David and Solomon. While Israelite settlements began spreading along the river basins in the Sharon Plain from the hills to the east,[74] strata belonging to the United Kingdom Period indicate the consolidation of Israelite political and cultural life with the progressive withdrawal of the Philistine characteristics and the advance of the Israelite red-slip, highly burnished ware in pottery deposits.[75] David finally established his dominion over the coastal plain circa. 990 BC.

Following the subjugation of Philistia, David added those areas which had been outlined as the tribal inheritances of the united Israelite kingdom from Dan to Beersheba, and subdued Transjordania by placing garrisons throughout the area.

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[73] B. Mazar, I.E.J., Vol. 10 (1960) pp. 46-7. (Tell Jerishe, identified with Gath-Rimmon, also became an Israelite city during the reign of David, and under Solomon became a religious administrative center in the Yarkon River area and continued until its destruction by Shishak.

[74] Archaeological survey conducted in January 1966 in the Sharon Plain from Naḥal ha-Tanninim in the north to Naḥal Yarkon in the south by M. Kochavi and R. Gophna. I.E.J., Vol. 16 (1966) pp. 143-4.

[75] R.B.K. Amiran, op. cit., p. 205.

Peaceful relations were established with the Phoenicians who became a leading sea-power in the Mediterranean.

The organization of the realm on the basis of the traditional twelve tribes saw the establishment of a network of Levitical cities to serve the administrative needs of the monarchy. While the administrative districts were revised under Solomon, the Levitical cities continued as royal Israelite cities in the outlying districts to ensure national solidarity and allegiance to the dynasty at Jerusalem. During this period of peace and absolute control over the all-important trade routes, the Via Maris and The King's Highway, this became the most prosperous period the land had ever known and it was reflected in a sudden rise in the standard of living.[76] A new standard of technical perfection was achieved in pottery and home construction. The major defense systems were characterized by the casemate wall (e.g., Beth-shemesh and Tell Beit Mirsim). Solomon's three royal cities, Hazor, Gezer and Megiddo were masterpieces in construction methods borrowed from the Phoenicians, including a governor's residence and

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[76] Y. Aharoni, The Land of the Bible. Philadelphia: Westminister Press, 1967, pp. 258-280.

and large administrative headquarters.[77] Imports from Cyprus and Phoenicia became prominent. Trade routes were developed in the south and a merchant navy trading in spices and perfumes with Sheba and Southern Arabia operated from the port of Elath.

In spite of the unparalleled prosperity, the disintegration of the kingdom began during Solomon's reign. Large territories were lost on the north and east through revolt. Twenty Galilean towns had to be given to Hiram, the king of Tyre, through a 'balance of payments' deficit. And after the division of the kingdom following the death of Solomon, the culmination of Egypt's constant attempts to disrupt the Israelite nation came with the military campaign of Shishak in the fifth year of the reign of Rehoboam (*circa*. 924 BC).[78]

B. *Iron Age II* (Ninth to Early Sixth centuries BC)

With the division of the United Monarchy, the northern kingdom of Israel, in close geographical proximity with Phoenicia and the other civilized countries to the north, became the heir of the civilization first introduced into

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[77] W.F. Albright, *op. cit*., pp. 125ff. Cf., Y. Yadin, *I.E.J.*, Vol. 8 (1958) pp. 80-6.

[78] Y. Aharoni, *op. cit*., pp. 275-288.

Palestine by Solomon. Judah was isolated by the desert to the south and war-like tribes in Transjordan to the east.[79] In the north, the capital which had been in Shechem was moved to Tirzah and then to Samaria where the Omri dynasty, desiring cultural and commercial intercourse with Phoenicia, established a new city which was dominated by a royal quarter constructed by Phoenician craftsmen. Tyre supplied Israel with these services together with wood and finely-manufactured wares in exchange for agricultural surpluses. Aramean pressure from the east undoubtedly strengthened these ties. Disputes with Judah were dissolved and most of Transjordan was reoccupied. Edom again came under Judah's domination and a trade route from Tyre to Arabia was established. It was a time of renewed prosperity and economic growth. Hazor doubled in size and was surrounded by a thick wall to protect a palace and royal storehouse on its acropolis. At Megiddo unimpressive private buildings were cleared to construct a new palace and administrative center, water system and stable complex. The site was surrounded by a thick fortification wall and a substantial towered gateway.[80] At about 800 BC Tell el-Far'ah also became an important town with an administrative headquarters or governor's residence. Here the social inequalities, which were so soundly denounced by the prophets, are reflected in the excavation of the residential area, where a long straight wall separated a series of excellent private homes with rooms flanking a central courtyard from huddled-together hovels.[81] Most of the sites in the north however experienced much less of this affluence, and since peaceful conditions were short-lived during the dual monarchy, deterioration in the material culture, even at Hazor, Megiddo and Samaria, accompanied the politically and militarily-weakening northern kingdom. In 734 BC, in a prelude of what was to follow, Tiglath-pileser III annexed Philistia, Galilee and northern Transjordan.[82] In 722 Samaria fell to Sargon and Israel was taken into captivity. Imported pottery forms at Samaria and Tell el-Far'ah and the un-Palestinian city planning at Megiddo are undoubtedly the cultural remains of the population which was transplanted in Israel by the conquerors and who existed there under very poor conditions.

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[79] K. Kenyon, Archaeology in the Holy Land, p. 260.

[80] K. Kenyon, op. cit., pp. 268-272.

The civil war which divided Judah and Israel so weakened both kingdoms that, not only were they unable to maintain control over previously conquered territories, but prompted the military expedition of Shishak in which the fortified cities of Judah were captured and heavy tribute was exacted from Jerusalem. This led to the formation of a new continuous line of fortresses along the western boundary of Philistia.[83] The towns which had been destroyed were rebuilt, on basically the same earlier plans, with casemate walls and small irregularly planned houses.[84]

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[81] R. deVaux, "The Excavations at Tell el-Far'ah and the site of Ancient Tirzah," P.E.Q., Vol. 88 (1956) pp. 125-140.

[82] Y. Aharoni, The Land of the Bible, pp. 327-35.

Judah similarly benefited from the alliance with the Omride dynasty. Briefly life flourished in its walled towns, which were mainly of two types, administrative centers dominated by large and exclusive official quarters, and town occupied entirely with private buildings and committed to industry, i.e., textiles at Tell Beit Mirsim and olive oil and wine at Beth-shemesh. But while Judah escaped the vengeance of Sargon, the Assyrian penetration by Sennacherib sacked Lachish, Beth-shemesh, Gibeah and many lesser towns, and the seige of Jerusalem was relieved only through tribute. However, the independence of the king of Judah was nominal and after the Babylonians succeeded the Assyrians, the final annexation under Nebuchadnezzar came in two campaigns in 598 and 589-7 BC. Archaeological evidence is unclear and limited. Reconstructions on sites which had been destroyed, i.e., Beth-shemesh and Lachish, were poor, and residential areas were congested. Though technically well-made, ceramic remains suggest a development in the direction of mass-production and dullness and suggest a dearth of creativity and spirit.[85]

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[83] *Ibid*., pp. 280-294.

[84] At Tell en-Nasbeh the fortifications consisted of a four-meter thick solid wall composed of heavy rubble broken at various intervals by rectangular towers of various sizes and surrounded by a massive stone-faced glacis. The massive solid wall with an external stone glacis was also found at Tell el-Fûl and may be identified with a later period of construction.

C. Iron Age III (*circa*. 550-330 BC)

When Babylon fell to Cyrus, the king of Persia in 539 BC a policy of voluntary repatriation permitted the return of various groups of Jews who attempted the restoration of Jerusalem and their Judean province. Archaeological recovery of the material culture of this period has been most limited. Excavations reveal that the great cities of the Israelite period played an insignificant role under the Babylonians and Persians. Coastal areas were not reunited, and by the middle of the sixth century BC Palestine had turned to the West for cultural contacts and influences. Emphasis was on Mediterranean trade and by the fifth and fourth centuries Greece was exporting her goods and culture to every available port.[86]

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[85] K. Kenyon. *op. cit*., pp. 282-297.

[86] R.B.K. Amiran, *op. cit*., p. 206.

The only architectural remains seemed to belong to buildings of Persian officialdom (e.g., Lachish) and the few rich burials from this period to members of their administration. The town and village sites indicated a cultural vacuum which was ready to receive the spreading Hellenistic vitality.[87]

5. The Negeb

The Negeb, forming the transitional area between agriculture and desert on the southern boundary of Palestine, is a semi-arid band of land fifteen miles wide, north and south of Beersheba. Sedentary occupation within the area was only possible when populations were willing and able to cope with the harsh climatic conditions and frequent droughts. The infrequent occupation of the area interestingly occurs in a thousand year cycle, during the transitional period between the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze ages at about 3000 BC, at the beginning of the of the Middle Bronze Age (MB I, circa. 2100 BC), and in the days of the United Israelite Monarchy from about 1000 BC onward.[88]

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[87] M. Avi-Yonah, The Holy Land From the Persian to the Arab Conquest. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1966, pp. 11-31.

[88] N. Glueck, "Five Years of Archaeological Exploration in the Negev" Antiquity and Survival II (1957) no. 2-3, pp. 273-286. Professor Glueck, in five years of exploration in the Negev, discovered almost four hundred sites, the existence of most of which were previously unknown. Later settlements include an intensive occupation by the highly-civilized Nabataeans, who were followed by Roman-Byzantine and medieval Arab settlers.

Beginning during the latter part of the Chalcolithic period, unfortified villages, with underground or partially submerged dwellings, suddenly grew up along the main river beds of the Negeb.[89] Existing on small cattle and seasonal agriculture, and having developed skills in copper, stone and ivory working,[90] they suddenly disappeared at the beginning of the Bronze Age (circa. 3200 BC) with many of their sites never resettled.

However, at the beginning of Early Bronze II, a new chain of settlements spread through the northern Negeb with common architectural and cultural features with the older settlements.[91] One of the largest of these Early Bronze cities in the Negeb, Tell Arad, which has been excavated, had a two and one half meter thick stone wall with semi-circular towers[92] surrounding an area of more than twenty acres. Well-built,

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[89] J. Perrot, "The Excavations of Tell Abu Matar, near Beersheba," I.E.J., Vol. 5 (1955) pp. 17-40.

[90] idem., "The Dawn of History in Southern Palestine,' Archaeology, Vol. 12 (1959) pp. 9-15.

[91] The excavator, Y. Aharoni, doubts the continuity of the older culture.

[92] Similar towers have been discovered at Ai, Jericho and Uruk in Masopotamia.

'broad' houses consisting of one large room with the entrance in the center of the long side and benches around the inner wall found at Tell Arad are identical to a Chalcolithic sanctuary excavated at En-Gedi.[93] The pottery of this rich culture indicated connections with Egypt during the First Dynasty (circa. 2900 BC) with Abydos ware and imported Egyptian vessels plentiful.[94] Large granaries for the collection of grain and storage cisterns for the collection of run-off water suggest a carefully controlled city which, after a life of only two to three hundred years was destroyed not later than circa. 2700 BC and not resettled for the next 1500 years.[95]

The next wave of settlement during the Middle Bronze I period at the end of the third millenium BC followed a time of destruction which left the whole of Palestine without a single identified settled and built-up city or town, while in the Negeb settlements in this period were more widespread than previously, spreading into the southern regions of the Negeb and the Sinai peninsula.[96] A survey within a twenty-five square kilometer area around Ramat Maṭred, a plateau southwest of Avdat, revealed a total of twenty-seven Middle Bronze I settlements compared with eighteen Israelite and five Nabataean-Byzantine sites. This comparison may be assumed to give a fair approximation of the numerical relationship of living units during the respective periods.[97] While the fertile portions of Palestine, and even the northern sections of the Negeb, including the vicinity of Arad, remained largely uninhabited, temporary camps of stone huts and enclosures for small cattle dotted the fringes of the desert regions to the south. Some larger, more permanent sites contained a series of houses built along the inner side of a wall to form an enclosure, evidences of pottery-making and copper trade (if not copper-working), and an indication of at least two short-lived occupations. Such a site, Har Yeroḥam, surrounded by burial grounds containing elaborate stone tumuli, contained no evidence of intentional destruction, and therefore suggested a peaceful withdrawal.[98]

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[93] Y. Aharoni and R. Amiran, "Arad, A Biblical City in Southern Palestine" Archaeology, Vol. 17 (1964) pp. 43-53.

[94] Tell Arad may have been one of the centers for the manufacture of this Syro-Palestinian pottery which is known especially from the Egyptian tombs of the First Dynasty.

[95] Y. Aharoni and Ruth Amiran, "Excavations at Tel Arad - Preliminary Report on the First Season, 1962" I.E.J., Vol. 14 (1964) pp. 131-147.

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[96] N. Glueck, Rivers in the Desert, pp. 60ff.; A.A.S.O.R., Vol. XVIII-XIX (1939) pp. 264ff.

[97] Y. Aharoni, M. Evenari, L. Shanan, and N.H. Tadmor, "The Ancient Desert Agriculture of the Negev: V. An Israelite Settlement at Ramat Maṭred" I.E.J., Vol. 10 (1960) pp. 23-36.

During most of the second millenium B.C. most of the Negeb and the southern desert seem to have been uninhabited. Only at Tell el-Far'ah[99] and at Tell Jemmeh,[100] southeast of Gaza, belonging more to the coastal region and well-known from Egyptian sources, have remains of this period been found.[101] Traces of Middle Bronze II and Late Bronze have been found at Tell Abu Hureira and Tell esh-Shari'ah.[102] Though Tell es-Seba' and Tell Arad were unsettled during this period, Khirbet el-Mishash and Tell el-Milḥ were and may have been the only Canaanite centers in the eastern Negeb.[103]

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[98] M. Kochavi, "The Settlement of the Negev in the Middle Bronze (Canaanite) I Age," Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, presented to Hebrew University, 1967. The writer participated in the excavation of the site.

[99] W.M. Flinders Petrie, Beth-pelet I (1930).

[100] *idem.*, Gerar (1928).

[101] B. Mazar, *P.E.Q.*, (1952) pp. 48-51.

[102] Y. Aharoni, "The Land of Gerar," I.E.J., Vol. 6 (1956) pp. 26-32.

[103] It may well be that these two sites replaced Tell Arad and Tell as-Seba' during this period because of the advantages of their more central location.

Archaeological survey has discovered only a few Iron Age settlements antedating the tenth century BC. A salvage operation at Tell Esdar,[104] about twelve miles southeast of Beersheba, just north of Aroer, revealed houses built along a circular, thin, though well-built, wall enclosing a large empty area. The pottery, largely limited to storage jars and cooking pots belonged to the eleventh century BC.[105] This site, however, is the exception, since a large number of sites surveyed belonged mainly to the Iron Age II (tenth century BC). More than fifty sites, though few identified with certainty, provided the Negeb proper with its densest population in history.[106]

While the relatively detailed information in the Bible concerning the building activities and maritime traffic conducted by those monarchs who controlled Elath and the rich caravan routes through the Negeb, suggests the great economic importance which was attached to the control of the Negeb, archaeological surveys have proven that the roads through the Negeb were fully controlled by a system of fortresses and settlements from Judah to Southern Arabia.[107] All of these forts belonged to the time of the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah from the tenth to the seventh centuries BC.[108]

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[104] M. Kochavi, I.E.J., Vol. 14 (1964) pp. 111f. (The site was excavated before the Beersheba-Dimona railroad conconstruction largely destroyed it.)

[105] The site may have been connected to the city of Aroer and belonged to the Jerahmeelites or the Kenites. (I Samual 30:28, 29).

[106] Y. Aharoni, "The Negeb of Judah" I.E.J., Vol. 8 (1958) pp. 26-38. Joshua 15: 21-32 enumerates the cities of the area. (Note attached map and list of Iron Age sites in Appendix.)

While most of the forts were built late within the period, the main routes of the Negeb did not change throughout the Israelite period, and therefore the later strongholds were probably built on the sites of older forts. The larger fortresses which maintained key-points and frontier areas housed officials and reinforced garrisons in charge of those vital localities.[109] Indicating as strong central authority in control throughout the area, at least twenty have been discovered on the main roads to the Arabah, Edom, Sinai and Egypt, securing the trade routes and guarding settlements and water supplies.[110]

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[107] Y. Aharoni, "Forerunners of the Limes: Iron Age Fortresses in the Negev" I.E.J., Vol. 17 (1967) pp. 1-17; idem., "Recent Discoveries in the Sinai Peninsula: A Preliminary Note," Antiquity and Survival, II (1957) no. 2-3, pp. 287-296.

[108] These fortresses, small and square without towers, possibly from the tenth century BC were followed by oval and irregular ones without towers, and then larger rectangular ones with projecting towers belonging to the eighth and seventh centuries. With a central courtyard and almost all of their rooms along the outer wall in the form of a casemate, these fortresses dotted the entire southern region and were often surrounded by houses which in some cases developed into villages where agriculture and husbandry were practiced. Ramat Matred had well-built houses, fenced and terraced fields with rock-cut and stone-built cisterns to provide water for irrigation. Guarded by a series of fortresses nearby, it existed during the tenth century until the campaign of Shishak. I.E.J., Vol. X (1960) pp. 97-111.

The revival of Arad, which had been destroyed in Early Bronze II, came with a new settlement in an unfortified village of the eleventh century,[111] and is covered with five to seven meters of strata of the ruins of later fortresses from the Iron Age and following.[112] While Arad is the only Iron Age fortress in the Negeb,[113] the destruction of the site six times within a period of about four hundred years gives ample evidence of the instability on this frontier.

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[109] Y. Aharoni, op. cit., p. 13.

[110] N. Glueck, Rivers in the Desert, pp. 173ff.

[111] It was built on a hill on the southern end of the site and may have been similar to Tell Esdar.

[112] Stratification suggested the following historical outline;

I. Mameluke tombs from the thirteenth century AD and later.
II. Early Arab khan from the seventh to eighth centuries AD.
III. Roman Fortress from the fifth century AD.
IV. Hellenistic tower from the third to second centuries BC.
V Persian tower (?) from the fifth to the fourth centuries BC.
VI-XI. Iron Age II fortresses from the tenth to early sixth centuries BC.
XII. Iron Age I village from the eleventh to early tenth centuries BC.

An Israelite sanctuary, found for the first time in archaeological excavation, obviously by its plan and contents dedicated to Yahweh, continued in existence from the eleventh to the seventh stratum. Built therefore during the Solomonic reign, it continued to the end of the eighth or beginning of the seventh century and was finally abandoned and deliberately destroyed after Josiah's reforms when the last citadel was erected.[114]

On the basis of the excavations at Tel Arad, Professor Aharoni has now suggested that, since Tell el-Milḥ and Khirbet el-Mishash are the only Canaanite mounds in the area, they must be identified with Arad and Hormah in Old Testament references to the period. Tel Arad and Tell el-Milḥ are to be identified with Arad the Great ("Rabbat") and Arad, the Beth Yeroḥam, fortresses of the Shishak list, respectively.[115]

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[113] The fortress excavated by Professor Glueck at Ezion-geber had common characteristics with the Arad fortresses. N. Glueck, "Ezion-geber," B.A., Vol. 28 (1965) pp. 70-87 (This article contains radically revisions of earlier interpretations of this excavation.) Trial excavations were conducted also at Kadesh Barnea (M. Dothan, "The Fortress at Kadesh-Barnea," I.E.J., Vol. 15 (1965) pp. 134-143.

[114] Y. Aharoni and R. Amiran, "Arad, A Biblical City in Southern Palestine," Archaeology, Vol. 17 (1964) p. 53; Cf. Y. Aharoni, "The Negeb" in Archaeology and Old Testament Study, Edited by D.W. Thomas. 295ff.

This discussion of the cultural development of the Negeb has been deemed necessary because of the importance of the area in subsequent discussion, not only of the patriarchal period but, of the penetration and settlement of Canaan by the Israelite tribes. The identification of the Abrahamic era with Middle Bronze I and Middle Bronze II is debated.[116] The nature of settlement in the Negeb and the role of the King of Arad have always been important factors in the discussion of the Israelites' movement toward the Promised Land.[117] And the demonstration from archaeological evidence that Tell Arad was not settled during the Late Bronze Age has added to that interest.

6. Transjordan and the Jordan Valley

Much of our understanding of the cultural history of the Gilead, Transjordan and the Jordan Valley areas is dependent upon the archaeological exploration of a joint expedition of the American School of Oriental Research and the Smithsonian Institute, and more specifically Professor Nelson Glueck during the period from 1932 to 1947.[118] While basic uniformity in the results of all scholars who have undertaken archaeological exploration and excavation has suggested that the historical picture of the area has been established, extensive excavations may necessitate some modification, though the ceramic evidence of over thirteen hundred sites investigated precludes radical changes.[119]

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[115] Y. Aharoni, op. cit., pp. 400f. This would suggest that Tell Arad was the center of the Kenites, Tell el-Milḥ belonged to the Jerahmeelites, and Hormah (Tell el-Mishash) was in the territory of Simeon. (Note Map, Appendix)

[116] N. Glueck, Rivers in the Desert, pp. 68-84: Y. Aharoni, "The Land of Gerar" I.E.J., Vol. 6 (1956) pp. 31f.

[117] Numbers 21:1-3.

In the Jordan Valley which at one time was believed uninhabited and uninhabitable, surface pottery finds elsewhere and excavations at Jericho revealed the presence of Neolithic civilization. In the region from the Yarmuk River just south of the Sea of Galilee to the northeast end of the Dead Sea, more than seventy ancient sites were identified on the eastern side of the Jordan alone, dating from about 3500 BC to about 1200 AD.[120]

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[118] Professor Glueck believes that comparatively few of the archaeological sites on the east side of the Jordan Valley, with the exception of some in the area of the junction of the Yarmuk and Jordan Valleys were overlooked. At least three quarters of the sites of archaeological interest in Northern Gilead were examined. Over 200 sites were studied in the highlands of N. Gilead alone. Well over 1000 sites in Transjordan were studied, reducing to a reasonable minimum the possibility of having missed any historical periods of permanent sedentary occupation. N. Glueck, Explorations in Eastern Palestine IV, Part I: Text. A.A.S.O.R. Vol. XXV-XXVIII (1945-1949) pp. xviii-xix.

[119] B.A.S.O.R., No. 90 (1943) p. 17.

The Chalcolithic civilization, represented by finds at el-'Adeimeh and Tell Ghanam, and by excavations at Teleilat el-Ghassul, Jericho and Beth-shan was found to be well-established and wide-spread along both the east and west bank of the Jordan and built up on a well-developed system of irrigated agriculture.[121] The Chalcolithic civilization traced in the Jordan Valley can be largely paralleled in the hill country and plains, not only of Palestine, but also in Transjordan. Wherever there was good soil and a constant water supply, there, already in the Chalcolithic period, agricultural colonies were established. Pottery at a number of sites in the hill country east and southeast of Jerash indicated a contemporaneity of settlement with the lowland settlements of Teleilat Ghassul and the Wadi Ghazzah, with little or no time lag.[122]

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[120] Nelson Glueck, "Some Biblical Sites in the Jordan Valley," H.U.C.A., Vol. 23 (1952) p. 113.

[121] idem., "A Chalcolithic Settlement in the Jordan Valley," B.A.S.O.R., No. 97 (1945) pp. 10-22.

[122] A.A.S.O.R., Vol. XXV-XXVIII, pp. 60, 71-76, 84, 87, 320.

Following a period of transition from the Chalcolithic period, a distinctive Early Bronze Age civilization developed both in the Jordan Valley and North Gilead as well as in the areas south of Wadi Zerqa.[123] The remains of this culture were much better preserved in North than in Central and South Transjordan. While Early Bronze IV (*circa.* 23rd to 21st centuries BC) is well represented in Transjordan south of Wadi Zerqa, a sharp decline, an almost complete break in the history of urban occupation occurred in the Jordan Valley and in North Gilead.[124] Following this period of a weakening or complete collapse of security and most of the settlements in the Early Bronze IV period, there was a strong revival of sedentary civilization with many important Middle Bronze I sites being established completely anew on virgin soil in North Gilead and in the Jordan Valley. While there was a diminution and centralization of occupation in the Jordan Valley and in North Gilead during the Middle Bronze II period, and an apparent recession in sedentary, civilized settlement in the Late Bronze period, this decline does not represent a complete break in the civilized sedentary settlement there.[125] While the marked decline here occurred mainly between the middle of the 18th century and the 15th century BC, in the South, limited settlement extended from the 20th to the 13th centuries BC and was a sharply marked decline, when, with the apparent exception of a few important centralized sites, sedentary settlements were not able to establish themselves freely. This break may have been caused by the Hyksos irruptions and may have been extended due to the ensuing lack of public security.[126]

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[123] *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII-XIX, p. 268; W.F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine*, p. 77.

[124] *A.A.S.O.R.*, Vol. XVIII-XIX, pp. 255-62.

Jericho continued as a central stronghold during the entire Middle Bronze II period, while other important sites such as 'Amman, Na'ur, and Heraqla, where Middle Bronze II pottery was found, and Late Bronze tomb groups indicate settlement, though limited, during all or parts of Middle Bronze II and Late Bronze. While others point to these finds as strongly suggesting a sedentary occupation in the area,[127] Professor W.F. Albright claimed that "occupation became concentrated in fortified towns and castles during the Hyksos period instead of being distributed through unwalled settlements."[128] The almost total eclipse of sedentary occupation in most of the fertile hill country of Transjordan, while demonstrated by the methodical exploration and survey by the American School,[129] was also suggested by the survey of Père de Vaux and Père Benoit in the es-Salt region.[130] W.F. Albright's soundings at the Early Bronze Age sites at Khirbet Ader[131] and Bab edh-Dhra,[132] excavations at Khirbet Balu'ah,[133] and the Franciscan excavation at Nebo (Khirbet el-Makhayyat).[134] However, no site with a more or less continuous history of occupation from the Early Bronze period to modern times had been excavated until 1951 when the excavation of Dibon revealed the absence of both buildings and pottery that could be assigned to the Middle and Late Bronze periods,[135] thus adding credence to the findings of Professor Nelson Glueck.

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[125] Sedentary settlement existed in North Gilead from the Early Bronze through the Iron Age, illustrated by the pertinent references in the Amarna Letters and the Egyptian lists of conquered towns, which fail to mention sites south of Irbid and el-Ḥusn. W.F. Albright, B.A.S.O.R., No. 68 (1937) p. 21; No. 86 (1942) p. 22. N. Glueck, A.A.S.O.R., Vol. XVIII-XIX, p. 265; Vol. XXV-XXVIII, p. 164.

[126] A.A.S.O.R., Vol. XVIII-XIX, p. 265; Vol. XXV-XXVIII, p. 63.

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[127] G.L. Harding, "Recent Discoveries in Jordan," P.E.Q., (Jan-June, 1958) pp. 7-18; The Antiquities of Jordan, pp. 32-3, 63, 73. Cf., W.A. Ward and M.F. Martin, "The Balu'a: A New Transcription with Palaeographical and Historical Notes," A.D.A.J., Vol. VIII-IX (1964) pp. 5-29. (p. 19 - "...This whole picture of east Jordan during the Middle and Late Bronze Ages is now in the process of being substantially altered. Discoveries of Middle and Late Bronze sites are rapidly beginning to fill in the cultural hiatus previously thought to have existed during this period. Tombs of both Middle and Late Bronze date, a Late Bronze city at Deir 'Allā and a small temple of the Late Bronze age at 'Amman show that there was much more than a nomadic culture in east Jordan at that time. These are recent finds and are evidence that with more excavation our present concept of this area during this period will have to undergo a radical change.")

[128] B.A.S.O.R., No. 90 (1943) p. 17.

[129] N. Glueck, A.A.S.O.R., Vol. XXV-XXVIII, p. 321 - "...These gaps can only be explained by the fact that such sedentary civilizations as survived political and economic catastrophes must have been severely restricted to a comparatively few strongholds, while the country at large reverted to a largely nomadic state of civilization, with the population decreased or displaced and nomadic inhabitants dwelling in tents and roving about and leaving no traces of their presence."

With the reoccupation of the area during Iron Age I and II, evidence of intensive and widespread building of fortified cities and open settlements was found throughout Transjordan and the Jordan Valley. In the plains of Moab, the Biblical sites were all located on easily fortified and usually isolated hills at the eastern edge of the plains. Public security was paramount, and each important site was strongly fortified, although a number of open villages may have been clustered about it, as in the case of Succoth (Tell Deir 'Alla).[136]

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[130] Revue Biblique, Vol. XLVII (1938) p. 424.

[131] Ray L. Cleveland, "Soundings at Khirbet Ader," A.A.S.O.R., Vol. XXXIV-XXXV (1954-1956) pp. 79-97. Cf., W.F. Albright, "The Archaeological Results of an Expedition to Moab and the Dead Sea," B.A.S.O.R., No. 14 (1924) pp. 2-12; "Soundings at Ader, a Bronze Age City in Moab," B.A.S.O.R., No. 53 (1934) p. 14.

[132] J. Penrose Harland, "Sodom and Gomorrah," B.A., Vol. V (1942) pp. 17-32.

[133] A.A.S.O.R., Vol. XIV, pp. 55, 56.

[134] S.J. Saller and B. Bagatti, The Town of Nebo (Khirbet el-Mekhayyat), Jerusalem, 1949.

[135] A.A.S.O.R., Vol. XXXVI-XXXVIII, pp. 11, 16.

In the Jordan Valley, where the cities had equally strong fortifications, the population was greater than the Biblical record would seem to indicate. In the northern half of the valley on the eastern side of the Jordan River, over thirty sites, not mentioned in the Bible, were occupied between the 13th and the 6th centuries.[137]

After their civilization was destroyed in the sixth century BC, these fortified hilltops were abandoned, and most of Transjordan and the Jordan Valley reverted to a nomadic population. This vacuum was ultimately filled by the energetic programs of the Hellenistic-Roman and Byzantine periods.[138]

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[136] H.J. Franken, "The Excavations at Deir 'Allā in Jordan (Third Season)" Vetus Testamentum, Vol. XII (1962), pp. 378-382.

[137] N. Glueck, "The Jordan," B.A., Vol. VI (1943) pp. 62-67.

[138] A.A.S.O.R., Vol. XXV-XXVIII, pp. 402-3.

V. CONTROVERSY AND CHANGE IN OLD TESTAMENT STUDIES

1. Criticism and Acceptance

While the enthusiastic response to archaeological endeavor in various segments of biblical scholarship has provided an unusual impetus for the development of the science, it has also been the source of criticism and intellectual stigma. Though his castigation is directed more against scholars of France and England than America, Professor T.J. Meek has accused archaeologists of "wildly fantastic" archaeological reporting and jumping to conclusions.[1] Exception was taken to Albright's statement that "the latest discoveries at Mari on the Middle Euphrates have strikingly confirmed the Israelite traditions according to which their Hebrew forefathers came to Palestine from the region of Harran in northwestern Mesopotamia."[2] The most that can be affirmed is that the biblical story is somewhat more credible, according to Meek, but "by no possible stretch of the imagination can it be said that it confirms the Israelite tradition in any particular whatsoever."[3] Thus we are confronted with the problem which has consistently faced biblical scholarship, the problem which from time to time has produced serious dissension since the emergency of this growing "science" which to some has been a fetish and to others a plague. The benefits to be derived from its allegiance are viewed as either multitudinous or infinitesimal, unique or nonessential.

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[1] Meek suggests that such questionable procedure can be explained by financial support which is largely determined by the amount of material the archaeologist is able to recover which seems to confirm the Bible. Journal of Religion, Vol. 21 (1941) pp. 402-3. Philip Andrew Kildahl, in his British and American Reactions to Layard's Discoveries in Assyria (1845-1860) (Thesis, University of Minnesota, 1959) shows that work in Assyria was largely supported with enthusiasm by the theologians in England until the "full implications of finds became known." Then the British defenders of the orthodox views promoted a campaign of evasion which eclipsed Layard, his books, and those of his successors, causing the whole field of Assyriology to become more or less suspect.

However, with the development of archaeological technique and the constant flow of epigraphical and material finds from the excavations, even its critics were withdrawing their accusations[4] and admitting that archaeology was broadening the scope of the Old Testament field.[5] Archaeological findings in the ancient Near East have undeniably added richness and depth to knowledge of historical, cultural and religious background of the Old Testament,[6]

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[2] W.F. Albright, F.S.A.C., p. 179.

[3] Meek argues that the only connection between the Mari tablets and the biblical record is the fact that two cities, Harran and Nahor, are mentioned in both and located in northwestern Mesopotamia, which proves the existence of the two cities in the 18th century B.C. He suggests that the archaeologist of the future must be vastly more scientific, objective and less concerned with whether his finds confirm or not confirm the Bible. The Journal of Religion, Vol. 21 (1941) p. 402.

2. The Wellhausen School and Archaeology

The controversies regarding the nature and contributions of literary criticism continued into the period of this study's concern, with archaeology on occasion being used as a defense on both sides. Professor W.A. Irwin extolled Graf and Wellhausen for centering the attention of biblical studies upon the Pentateuch and noted that the methods which Wellhausen especially had established and captivated the whole field of biblical study to the point that even conservatives had become

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[4] T.J. Meek admitted to an overstatement when he claimed in Review of Religion, Vol. IV (1940) p. 286, that archaeology was "the most inexact of all the sciences," though he maintained that it was not as exact as it should be. The Journal of Religion, Vol. 21, (1941) p. 406. G. Ernest Wright argues that such statements, while reflecting conditions before World War I, failed to do justice to the scientific methods applied by leading archaeologists in 1941. See J.B.L., Vol. 60 (1941). p. 30.

[5] Archaeology is forcing the Old Testament student to a broader training to deal with many new problems requiring a more defined technique in knowing and appraising the whole field of Near Eastern studies. T.J. Meek, J.R., Vol. 21 (1941) p. 411.

[6] Roger T. O'Callaghan, S.J., C.B.Q., Vol. 6 (1944) p. 391.

"critics" and were employing the critical recourse to evidence and induction.[7] But while the Wellhausen approach continued to have its staunch supporters, there was a growing feeling that it had not only reached "a stage of diminishing returns,"[8] but there were other fields of study which were now more stimulating and more productive. The Wellhausen school of criticism, which at the end of the nineteenth century had been adopted by scholars who were groping for more adequate methods of interpreting the Old Testament,[9] was now being replaced for the same reason. Archaeology had captivated one of the areas of new interest, and well-equipped expeditions with scientific approach and technique for accurate interpretation of archaeological data during the ten to fifteen years before World War II had produced a mass of archaeological materials with relevance for Old Testament study.[10] Specialists in Syrian and Mesopotamian political history, religion, law, custom, and philology were becoming increasingly productive and even "pure" archaeologists, many with a distaste for language work and literary problems were demonstrating the importance of their discoveries.[11]. While earlier excavation in Bible lands had resulted more often from the wish to secure light on the Bible itself, the specialists who entered the field following World War I had a personal interest in the Bible only as it threw sidelights on their own subjects. As finances became available biblical scholars, architects, historians, and archaeologists trained in other regions invaded the Near East in response to the widespread enthusiastic interest in its mounds, and the field of Old Testament study began to benefit from varied emphases and approaches to the recovery of Near Eastern culture. These discoveries challenged an attitude of exclusivism which had existed earlier.[12] Vestiges of the earlier thinking continued and the tendency of removing higher, or textual, criticism from "center stage" in Old Testament study was viewed as an "overstressing of archaeological confirmation." These attempts were viewed as largely reactionary and could have dire and unhealthy effects for the Bible in the popular mind.[13] While abhorring the excesses to which archaeology admittedly was prone, especially during its infancy, Professor Irwin viewed the developing mood of caution and conservatism as a positive gain within Old Testament scholarship.[14]

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[7] W.A. Irwin, A.J.S.L., Vol. LVIII (1941) pp. 115-6. "Conservative scholars of today no longer appeal to some sort of *deus ex machina* that will vindicate all the inconsistencies and errors in the inspired records; they have all become themselves 'critics employing the critical recourse to evidence and induction.' They fall short of a place among the company of 'orthodox' critical scholarship mainly in their unwillingness to sit patient while the evidence speaks for itself; but rather they must out of their own dogmatic or sentimental predilections find conclusions to which the testimony is compelled to lead."

[8] G. Ernest Wright, J.B.L., Vol. 60 (1941) p. 27. "The more one reads current literature dealing with the purely literary problems of the Old Testament, the more definite is the impression of the futility of perhaps too large an amount of it."

[9] Norman Gottwald, Andover-Newton Quarterly, Vol. I (1960) p. 19.

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[10] T.J. Meek, Journal of Religion, Vol. 21 (1941) pp. 398-9.

[11] G. Ernest Wright, J.B.L., Vol. 60 (1941) pp. 27-8; Cf. W.A. Irwin, P.S.T. Journal, Vol. VII (1954) p. 6-7.

As many of the conclusions, some even of a major character, of the so-called Documentary Hypothesis, founded on considerations of stylistic variation, became more suspect, the conviction broadened that the techniques of documentary analysis were outmoded and at least needed reevaluation. Coordinated with the rapidly unfolding historical picture, a study of the ideas, institutions, and movements reflected in the biblical records now seemed to provide a more positive clue to the meaning and cultural significance of the distinct biblical documents.[15] But the seeming demise of an approach and emphasis to which many had dedicated a lifetime of service was painfully and reluctantly accepted. The recriminations between schools of thought were far from subtle. The "liberals" were accused of refusing to recognize the significance of archaeology.[16] The "conservatives" were accused of finding in archaeology the "proof" for too much.[17]

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[12] A.T. Olmstead, J.N.E.S., Vol. II (1943) pp. 33-4. "A half-century ago...none but the convinced Higher Critics was admitted -- by the Higher Critics themselves. Today, Old Testament students welcome new light from whatever quarter it may gleam. ...Even among the older critics, the agnostic 'form criticism' is losing its popularity. ... The leaders of the now 'traditional' school of agnostic criticism are dying off or are passing into retirement, and younger men are taking their place. If some are yet dominated by the overpowering personality of their revered teachers, others have freed themselves and are able to look back upon these instructors with something of historical attachment and can evaluate their strength and their weakness."

[13] Otha L. Clark, J.B.R., Vol. 9 (1941) p. 96.

[14] William A. Irwin, J.B.R., Vol. 10 (1942) p. 133.

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[15] Julian Morgenstern, J.B.L., Vol. 61 (1942) pp. 1-2.

[16] Edward J. Young, Westminster Theological Journal, Vol. 26 (1964) p. 79. "With the advent of archaeological science, many of the theories propagated during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries concerning the origin and development of the Old Testament received a death blow. Conservatives recognized this fact and eagerly embraced it, but many liberals refused to recognize the significance of archaeology."

[17] William A. Irwin, J.B.R., (1953) Vol. 21, p.13. "....the 'romance' of archaeology is such that it has suffered from excessive claims made by its partisans. We are told that it refutes the critics, that it proves the truth of the Bible (which too often means no more than a certain theory about the Bible), that it settles this or that problem; and so on. No one may minimize its importance; its contributions are monumental. Yet a realization of the actualities of the situation will prove wholesome. In reality archaeology proves nothing whatever. It provides us with certain facts, nothing more."

Even those not committed to the field of archaeology were recognizing the significance of the contributions of biblical archaeology to the historical understanding and interpretation.[18] This, however, was with a concern that the new science guard against the extravagance of its former claims, and that "the fruits of scientific investigation of the literary stratification of biblical writings" not be sacrificed on the altar of this new allegiance.[19] And while the direction and emphasis of interpretation had changed, the impress of the "Wellhausen School" continued with individual scholars and the documentary theory was viewed as "the established scholarly view of the origin and formation of the Hexateuch."[20] Though the mood of caution and reserve which permeated the field of biblical studies could be described as more conservative in moving closer to a traditional position, the critical scholar viewed the trend as insignificant.[21]

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[18] J. Philip Hyatt, "Biblical Archaeology in the College," J.B.R., Vol. 7 (1939) pp. 79-83.

[19] Julian Morgenstern, J.B.L., Vol. 61 (1942) pp. 3,4. "With the present unparalleled expansion and progress of archaeology, and especially archaeology of the Near East, and with the impending reformulation of its conclusions and techniques it is reasonable to believe that a new day is about to dawn for biblical science, a day of sure advance and abundant achievement."

[20] William A. Irwin, J.B.R., Vol. 12 (1944) pp. 165, 171. "No informed person can doubt or deny that in its essence -- that is, ignoring excesses and extremes and allowing for many individual diversities of detail -- the documentary theory is now the established scholarly view of the origin and formation of the Hexateuch. To borrow a not too happy phrase of a previous day, it is one of "the assured results of scholarship."

The change in emphasis within biblical scholarship was inevitable, coming at a time when the literary critics felt that they had completed their task in the analysis of the courses, especially those of the Pentateuch.[22] But the self-criticism which followed,[23] and the contributions of biblical archaeology established a more cautious literary criticism which saw "the neat finality of the Wellhausen system, its apparent solution of all relevant problems" begin to crumble.[24]

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[21] William A. Irwin, J.B.R., Vol. 19 (1951) p. 186; G. Ernest Wright, Interpretation, Vol. 16 (1962) p. 7.

[22] Joseph L. Mihelic, J.B.R., Vol. 19 (1951) p. 120; Cf., William A. Irwin, J.B.R., Vol. 10 (1942) p. 135, "Certainly literary criticism must expect diminishing returns..."

[23] Cyrus H. Gordon, "Higher Critics and Forbidden Fruit," Christianity Today, 4:4 (Nov. 23rd, 1959). Though at one time a devotee of the Documentary Hypothesis, he rejected it on the basis of archaeological evidence.

[24] William A. Irwin, J.B.R., Vol. 21 (1953) p. 13. "The work, of say, fifty years ago claimed a certainty never attained, perhaps never attainable; but the present is of a more chastened mood. We have come to recognize the paucity and entire inadequacy of our evidence, such that in some cases results are little better than informed guesses. We deal, at the best, not with proved finalities, but with greater and less probabilities."

Attitudes toward the biblical documents began to change.[25] The diverse approaches assumed to fill the void created through the disenchantment with the Wellhausen method soon found the field of biblical interpretation in an intellectual revolution.[26] Old Testament scholarship, badly divided on most of the basic issues,[27] was now endeavoring to establish the nature and task of Old Testament theology,[28] the development of the cult,[29] and the reconstruction of Israel's early history.[30] The diversity of approach and emphasis which followed was to revitalize Old Testament studies.[31]

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[25] idem., J.B.R., Vol. 12 (1944) p. 166. "All the documents possess some, as yet but vaguely comprehended, element of historical dependability. The study of places and names in Palestine and the surrounding region, the tracing of ancient routes, the surviving evidence of civilizations long overwhelmed, our increasing knowledge of ethnic movements in the second millenium B.C., and discoveries such as Hurrian family law, fitting as they do with this or that feature of the Hexateuchal record, all demonstrate alike that in these sources we deal not with creations of fertile imaginations, but with records, which, however, reused, expanded and altered through the process of time, rest ultimately on a nucleus of ancient and valid accounts of patriarchal times."

[26] idem., J.B.R., Vol. 21 (1953) p. 13, "The current mood of caution and reserve may in fairness be described as more conservative than was the criticism of fifty years ago, for at many points it leads much closer to the traditional position. Yet, the critical scholar will deny that this trend is of great significance; he will insist that his methods and his results are alike remote from the dogmatism which his predecessors rejected."

[27] Norman K. Gottwald, Andover-Newton Quarterly, Vol. I (1960) p. 20. "...the preoccupation of the 19th century with literary criticism has been corrected by inquiry into the oral stages of the development of traditions, and the tendency to think of the writers as independent authors has been corrected by a recognition of the fixed character of certain traditions reached already in the oral stages and also impressed by the life situation (Sitz im Leben) in which the traditions were repeated."

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[28] Eugene H. Maly, Catholic Biblical Quarterly, Vol. 18 (1956) p. 257. "The Pentateuch in general, and the patriarchal section, has been the object of the theological approach. To understand the inclusion of these 'unhistorical' narratives, it is held, we must understand the theological thesis of the sacred writer."

[29] Frank M. Cross, Jr., B.A., Vol. 10 (1947) p. 46. While the history of cult was already fundamental to the thinking of the Wellhausen School, more recently Old Testament scholarship has been inclined increasingly to emphasize the cultic importance of history in Israel. See. G.E. Wright, Interpretation, Vol. 16 (1962) p. 18. "The biblical revelation is inseparably associated with historical images. These, drawn from the past, are the means whereby the cultus renews the common life and affirms the God of the present."

[30] G.E. Wright, Interpretation, Vol. 16 (1962) p. 3; also J.B.R., Vol. 28 (1960) p. 183. Professor W.F. Albright's contention has been that the archaeological reconstruction of the Ancient Near East has so altered our perspectives as to remove the factual basis from the Wellhausen superstructure.

[31] Norman K. Gottwald, Andover-Newton Quarterly, Vol. I (1960) pp. 17-19. "Actually there is no single direction taken by Old Testament study in this century, or even in the last twenty-five years. Old Testament scholars, like the horsemen of the Apocalypse, have preferred to ride off toward the four corners of the earth."

3. Old Testament Theology and Archaeology

The rise to prominence of Old Testament theology from almost total obscurity twenty five years ago is a sign of a profound change that has taken place in Old Testament.[32] Though archaeology played a significant role in the resurgence of theology of the Old Testament, it was accused of causing its earlier withdrawal. For some, it had been in a long "Babylonish captivity at the hands of archaeologists and philologists."[33] Whether this was the only reason for the continuing reluctance of most Old Testament scholars to participate in theological discussion concerning the Old Testament especially may be questionable. Nonetheless it is true that the change from an Old Testament science in theology to one centered in the history of Israelite religion was partly because of the interest which developed in cognate studies such as Assyriology, Egyptology, Arabic studies, and archaeology. Scholars became increasingly engrossed in the study of ancient cultures rather than such aspects of the Old Testament which may have been more directly relevant to the "christian concern."[34] As the study of Israel's religious history was substituted for Old Testament religious doctrine, systematic theology, the interpreting of the Old Testament in terms of conceptions drawn from the doctrinal system of the New Testament and the admissibility of a supranaturalistic explanation of history, practically disappeared from the field of biblical studies.

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[32] Herbert F. Hahn, Old Testament in Modern Research, p. 226. "Of all the important trends in Old Testament studies, the one which has given rise to the most vigorous discussion is the recent rebirth of Old Testament theology."

[33] Carmino de Catanzaro, Anglican Theological Review, Vol. 44 (1962) p. 260.

Since World War II a new exegetical method may be observed in which scholars generally were not so much concerned with source analysis as with the theological conceptions which moved the writers (and redactors?) to compose the history of Israel in a particular way.[35] That the orderly fashion and complete design of the traditions and narratives contain the development of fundamental theological themes is basic to the theological approach.[36] For some this new interest in biblical theology, accompanied by a heightened interest in biblical archaeology is the natural outgrowth of a "return to religion" phase.[37] As the hypothesis of Wellhausen was at least in part the outcome of a very specific philosophy of history, it may be argued similarly that the myth-and-ritual emphasis in Pentateuchal criticism and the history of criticism in our era generally may be largely due to the prevailing philosophical and theological temper.[38] Yet the current theological emphasis usually shares the Biblical insistence on the historicity of revelation.[39] This emphasis upon history is the most dominant single characteristic of recent biblical study in its use and view of Scripture.[40] At the same time there were those who were decrying this emphasis on history and archaeology and the secularization and neglect of the Scriptures.[41]

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[34] James D. Smart, J.R., Vol. 23 (1943) p. 9.

[35] E.E. Flack, Interpretation, Vol. 13 (1959) p. 5.

[36] W. Harrelson, Interpretation, Vol. 13 (1959) pp. 26f.

[37] G.E. Wright, J.B.L., Vol. 77 (1958) p. 39.

While the emphasis of using the resources of scientific and historical research in discovering the pattern of God's dealing with Israel was appreciated, there was a fear of the possible consequences of the revival of Old Testament theology because of its seeming inherent temptation to impose a theological scheme on the Old Testament.[42] The "Theologies of the Old Testament" have also been criticized as being, in spite of their titles, merely systematic exegeses without forming a radical break with the historical-critical disciplines and being merely a different principle of organization.[43]

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[38] J. Coert Rylaarsdam, J.B.R., Vol. 22 (1954) p. 246.

[39] idem., J.B.L., Vol. 77 (1958) pp. 28f.

[40] Scott McCormick, Interpretation, Vol. 12 (1958) p. 297.

[41] Robert C. Dentan, A.T.R., Vol. 27 (1945) p. 18. "Old Testament studies had become "...little more than a particular branch of Semitic philology, of Near Eastern archaeology, or of ancient history, with no particular relevance either for living religion or for the common life. ... It is rare to find an Old Testament scholar today who is a theologian, who regards the Old Testament studies not as a branch of history or linguistics, archaeology and historical science and indispensable to any Biblical scholarship which is worthy of the name...they are not ends in themselves...and need to be seen in a broader perspective, as means by which we can see more clearly the working of God in history and hear the voice of Moses' God speaking to us today."

While archaeology has no primary bearing on theological issues, it is among the essential disciplines, providing external check points, a wider context and the stimulus to fresh avenues of approach to basic documents, which should engross the theologian in his interpretation of the Bible. In his interpretative task he is constrained to use not only the linguistic, historical and interpretative tools which govern the study of ancient literature, but an understanding of his document. Thus any theologically significant Biblical passage has not only an immediate, or primary, context within a particular Biblical document, and a secondary context within the whole of Biblical literature, but also a tertiary context, the cultural and historical situation in which the passage was born. The consideration of archaeological evidence is especially essential where, as with the Biblical documents, a literature developed in close association with historical and cultural movements over a long period of time.[44] With such literature an understanding of the background is often crucial for accurate interpretation.[45]

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[42] T.A.M. Barnett, C.J.T., Vol. 6 (1960) pp. 91-101; Cf., James Barr, C.J.T., Vol. 3 (1957) p. 143.

[43] James Barr, *ibid*., p. 141.

The History-of-Religion school which dominated writing on the Old Testament during the first three decades of this century, conceived of the development of Israel's religion within the frame of an evolutionary pattern.[46] Although its philosophical presuppositions about history have since been rejected, its scholars impressed their successors with the importance of the historical context of a particular text in determining its original meaning.[47]

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[44] Hans Walter Wolff, Interpretation, Vol. 15 (1961) p. 443. "...a method of exposition is to be sought for, that seeks with all available means to understand the text in its historical context, and is concerned to eliminate arbitrary interpretations."

[45] Lawrence E. Toombs, "Archaeology and Theological Studies," Drew Gateway, Vol. 32 (1961) pp. 26-34.

[46] Stephen Szikszai, Theology and Life, Vol. 7 (1964) pp. 26-36.

[47] Scott McCormick, Interpretation, Vol. 12 (1958) pp. 295-306; Cf., G.E. Wright, "The Christian Interpreter," Interpretation, Vol. 1, (1947) p. 147.

Literary criticism in some ways is the most confused field in current studies of the Old Testament. The deceptive calm of the late thirties and early forties, when it appeared that all major issues had been settled, has passed. In current Old Testament study the emphases are divided and the problems multitudinous.[48] Some of the principles underlying the Documentary Hypothesis were shaken by archaeology and a general discontent with the Wellhausen school followed.[49] Though scholars continued without question to use the hypothesis as a working theory, it was for lack of an alternative.[50] Those scholars who were convinced of the fallacy of the Documentary Hypothesis are now committed to the search for a new theory to explain the formation of the Pentateuch and Historical Books.[51]

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[48] Carmino de Catanzaro, A.T.R., Vol. 44 (1962) pp. 251f.

[49] Carroll Stuhlmueller, Thomist, Vol. 23 (1960) pp. 544f. In the last thirty years, "...the arm-chair, ivory-tower literary conclusions of the Graf-Wellhausen School have been overthrown...A neo-conservativism has set in among many non-Catholic scholars... The antiquity and historicity of the patriarchal stories and of the Mosaic traditions are now accepted by very many scholars."

[50] G.E. Wright, J.B.L., Vol. 77 (1958) p. 45.

[51] M.H. Segal, J.Q.R., Vol. 60 (1964-5) p. 318; Cf., Vol. 48 (1958) pp. 315-328.

A radical alternative to the traditional documentary theories is that of "tradition-history" propounded by Ivan Engnell of Uppsala,[52] and others.[53] They rejected literary criticism as being inappropriate to the context of the Old Testament and based on the assumption that Western standards of logical composition might be applied to Semitic writings. Professor Engnell maintained that before its fixation in writing, the Old Testament existed as oral 'literature', and a study of those oral traditions are basic to understanding. However, while to some Engnell's approach was a serious departure and the "death-blow" to the Documentary Hypothesis,[54] others viewed the traditio-historical reconstruction of the history of religion as nothing more than offering revisions of the Wellhausen position.[55]

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[52] Gamla Testamentat: en traditionshistorisk inledning. Stockholm, 1945.

[53] A. Fridrichsen, H.S. Nyberg, G. Widengren, A. Haldar, and A.S. Kapelrud. (See G.W. Anderson, "Some Aspects of the Uppsala School of Old Testament Study," H.T.R., Vol. 43 (1950) pp. 239-56.

[54] R.A. Henshaw, A.T.R., Vol. 47 (1965) pp. 60f.

[55] Norman K. Gottwald, Andover-Newton Quarterly, Vol. 1 (1960) p. 22.

Despite the assaults of "tradition-history," Professors Robert H. Pfeiffer, Immanuel Lewy, C.A. Simpson, F.S. North and others, continued the elaboration of literary criticism on the lines of Wellhausen.[56] Its defenders, while admitting its former extremes, pointed to its contributions in the field of biblical studies. The mood of the critical school, however, has changed admittedly,[57] its historical reconstruction of the religion of Israel had been significantly modified,[58] and much of the credit was attributed to the results of archaeological endeavor.[59] The literary-historical methods which had helped to establish the Wellhausen system now contributed to its deterioration, if not collapse.[60]

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[56] C. de Catanzaro, A.T.R., Vol. 44 (1962) p. 253.

[57] B.W. Anderson, J.B.R., Vol. 23 (1955) p. 81. "During the past thirty years or so, far-reaching changes have been taking place in the field of biblical studies. In these days we speak less dogmatically of the "assured gains" of biblical criticism, for someone is just apt to pull the rug out from under our feet." Cf., G.E. Wright, J.N.E.S., Vol. 5 (1946) pp. 105-114.

[58] Norman K. Gottwald, op. cit., pp. 20f.

[59] W.F. Albright and David N. Freedman, J.B.R., Vol. 31 (1963) p. 110. "Biblical research is being revolutionized by archaeological and linguistic discoveries of every conceivable kind."

In fairness, however, it must be recognized that the Wellhausen reconstruction was made when the archaeology of the biblical world was still in its infancy and consequently was seriously handicapped in comparison with present research.[61] It is also relevant to remember that archaeology does not free the biblical scholar from dealing with the literary records in a responsible, scientific fashion.[62]

A better knowledge of the religious milieu of the Ancient Near East prompted revisions in the reconstruction of the history of Israel's religion.[63] With the clarification of the polytheism of the Assyro-Babylonians, Canaanites, Hurrians, Hittites, Achaeans, and Egyptians,[64] the religious relationship of Israel to her neighbors became increasingly clear. A gradual emergency from polytheism seemed to be an inadequate explanation for Israel's religion. Israel's emergence with a religious particularity which largely resisted syncretism was thought to be better explained by the assumption that its past was marked by a creative period under the direction of a leader who indelibly impressed a monolatrous "fanaticism" upon the people's consciousness.[65]

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[60] J. Coert Rylaarsdam, J.B.R., Vol. 22 (1954) pp. 243-5. It was during the period between the Wars (I and II) while the Wellhausen reconstruction of the Old Testament history was enjoying its greatest audience, that James H. Breasted was enabled to turn the Old Testament Department created by William Rainey Harper at the University of Chicago into the Oriental Institute and to usher in this country's greatest era of archaeological activity. See, G.E. Wright, J.B.R., Vol. 28 (1960) pp. 182f.

[61] G.E. Wright, J.B.L., Vol. 77 (1958) p. 45. For Wellhausen, as for J. Pedersen of our day, Arabic studies were considered the most important source of illumination for Israelite life. See, W.F. Albright, J.B.L., Vol. 54 (1960) p. 92. In reference to Wellhausen, Albright has stated, "...great Semitist though he was, (he) neglected the new material from the ancient Orient with a disdain as arrogant as it was complete."

[62] J. Muilenburg, J.B.R., Vol. 28 (1960) p. 176.

4. The Historical Schools and Archaeology

While the determination of the role of biblical archaeology in the reconstruction of Israel's history has been the biblical scholars' concern since the beginning of the young science, it has been the subject of a heightening debate.[66] Though none of the leading scholars in the field would hold a view that archaeology "proves the Bible true," there is disagreement as to the relevance of archaeological data and the way in which it should be used.[67] Excluding those who seem to use archaeological data in a pseudo-historical method,[68] two major schools dominate the historical approach in biblical studies; the continental, or German, school of Albrecht Alt and Martin Noth, and the American school dominated by William F. Albright and his students, especially G.E. Wright and J. Bright.[69]

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[63] C. Stuhlmueller, Thomist, Vol. 23 (1960) pp. 541, 545. "Today Catholic exegetes are debtors to the archaeologists' pick ax ... Archaeology has enabled us to reconstruct the millieu, civilization and life-situation (Sitz im Leben) in which the biblical accounts arose. The Old Testament is thus seen as a living tradition which grew out of Israel." C.B.Q., Vol. 20 (1958) p. 310.

[64] W.F. Albright, J.B.L., Vol. 54 (1940) pp. 103-112.

[65] G.E. Wright, Interpretation, Vol. 16 (1962) p. 7.

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[66] G.E. Wright, B.A., Vol. 22 (1959) pp. 98-108; J.A. Soggin, B.A., Vol. 23 (1960) pp. 95-100; Martin Noth, The History of Israel, (tr. Stanley Godman) New York: Harper and Bros., 1958; John Bright, Early Israel in Recent History Writing (Studies in Biblical Studies No. 19). Chicago: S.C.M., 1956; A History of Israel. Philadelphia: Westminister Press, 1959; Also G.E. Wright, "Archaeology and Old Testament Studies," J.B.L., Vol. 77 (1958) pp. 39-51.

[67] Edward F. Campbell and James F. Ross, B.A., Vol. 26 (1963) pp. 2-27.

[68] Merrill F. Unger, Bibliotheca Sacra, Vol. 105 (1948) p. 298. "In the camp of radical scholarship, reams of sheer nonsense have been written. These men, viewing the Bible as legend, myth, or at best unreliable history, have used archaeology to support erratic theories. In this case archaeological data have been given a false interpretation as a result of bias against the historicity of the Scriptural narratives. While it is, of course, a mistake to make the Biblical data the criterion for determining what is or is not scientific fact, this procedure is far less dangerous of miscarriage, and far more productive of positive results than assuming a priori that the Bible is unreliable and using archaeological data to try to prove it," Also see,

Charles L. Feinberg, Bibliotheca Sacra, Vol. 104 (1947) p. 173. "Archaeology has definitely confirmed the Biblical record. To some this has appeared as the only value of the archaeological evidence now in our possession. But if it be not the sole value of archaeology, it is surely one of its chief helps."

Albrecht Alt and Martin Noth, beginning with the soundest results of literary criticism, and emphasizing form-critical methods and the study of tradition-history, and assigning the primary influence in the formation of tradition to etiology on the basis of a low regard for the reliability of early biblical traditions, are uniquely skeptical of a valid contribution of archaeological evidence to the understanding of biblical history.[70]

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[69] J. Stanley Chesnut, J.B.R., Vol. 30 (1962) p. 290. The writings of M. Noth and J. Bright indicate most sharply the difference between the two prevailing schools of thought. See also: Graydon F. Snyder, "Old Testament Studies - A Survey," Brethren Life and Thought, Vol. 8 (1963) pp. 59-61.

[70] G.E. Wright, J.B.L., Vol. 77 (1958) pp. 46-48. "Curiously enough... Alt and Noth are as negativistic regarding the patriarchal, Exodus, Sinai, and conquest traditions as was Wellhausen, in these matters refusing completely to use archaeological data... He (Noth) does not do so because the presuppositions of his methodology will not permit him. By his internal tradition-history analysis Noth has concluded that there could have been no united Israel to have carried on such a conquest. Hence he cannot employ the archaeological data."

While accepting the relation of the names and customs of the Patriarchs to the Mari[71] and Nuzu texts,[72] and stating that these connections are of a concrete nature and that the beginnings of Israel are rooted in historical presuppositions as shown by these archaeological discoveries from the middle of the second millenium, Martin Noth emphatically denies that more can be said. For him very little insight comes from external evidence, especially for the period of the patriarchs.[73]

Noth is convinced that archaeology has a contribution to make in the area of topography and historical occupation in relation to the literary tradition.[74] But while he admits that the destructions of the 13th and 12th centuries may be related to the Israelite conquest, he finds no need for making this connection since Joshua 1 and 12 exhibits mostly etiological narratives with accidental connections to the actual conquest and thus of insignificant historical value. It is therefore not unexpected that Noth should cite archaeological data, both architectural and epigraphical, only in passing with his primary emphasis centered in the history of the biblical traditions.[75]

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[71] G.E. Mendenhall, "Mari" B.A., Vol. 11 (1948) pp. 1-19.

[72] C.H. Gordon, "Biblical Customs and the Nuzu Tablets" B.A., Vol. 3 (1940) pp. 1-12.

[73] J. Alberto Soggin, B.A., Vol. 23 (1960) p. 97. Compare section on the "Limitations of Archaeology" by Martin Noth, The Old Testament World. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966, pp. 142-144.

[74] *Ibid.*, pp. 140-142.

In John Bright's work, and that of the Albright school, the contribution of archaeology is given a much greater significance. Topographical surveys, excavation reports, editions of ancient Near Eastern texts, etc. are used as primary sources together with the literary evidence from the Old Testament itself. Thus Bright takes exception to Noth's conclusions at almost every point.[76] Bright is convinced that Noth, in his failure to recognize a significant nucleus of historical fact in the biblical traditions, has no adequate explanation for the origin of Israel and its faith, including its amphictyony and the person of Moses, and that, together with Albrecht Alt, forces Formgeschichte[77] beyond its potential, to establishing the historicity of a given tradition by the examination of the literary form in which it is presented.[78]

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[75] Edward F. Campbell, Jr., and James F. Ross, B.A., Vol. 26 (1963) pp. 2f.

[76] It is Bright's contention that it cannot be proved that etiology was ever primary in the formation of tradition, but that, wherever historical tradition is involved, etiology can be shown to be secondary.

[77] In the approach formulated by Hermann Gunkel, the written sources of the Bible were largely compiled from oral traditions which had already been given a certain form through the constant repetition by the people. A study of these forms of oral tradition, the expression of spiritual experience by and for the people, led to the modern attempt to reconstruct the history of Old Testament literature by this means.

For the American "historical" school it is not a question of whether archaeological data "prove" the biblical tradition, but where the "balance of probability" lies, for it is in this area, according to Bright, that the historian usually works.[79] Considerable reliance is placed on the early traditions of Israel, and Bright's work, beginning with the history of the patriarchs, is characterized by much use of archaeological data, later traditions and linguistic evidence.[80]

It is significant to note that the positions adopted by Martin Noth indicate a development from skepticism to a more positive attitude toward traditional tales and persons.[81]

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[78] John Bright, Early Israel in Recent History Writing (Studies in Biblical Theology, No. 19) Chicago: Alec R. Allenson, 1956, pp. 29f.

[79] Ibid., p. 88.

[80] Bright's approach begins with literary criticism, form-criticism, and tradition-history, but he endeavors to evaluate all the material through an examination of all internal and external evidence. See J. Stanley Chestnut, J.B.R., Vol. 30 (1962) pp. 286-7.

[81] Martin Noth, The Old Testament World, p. 142, "...the appearance of archaeology has also had and continues to have a positive influence on the history of scholarship. It has helped to overcome the stage of a purely literary or literary-critical view of biblical scholarship. Through its occupation with the remains of past history it has directed attention again to the concrete content of the body of written tradition and thereby to the problem of the origin and meaning of individual parts of that tradition."

However it is still his contention that the understanding of historical events is reached only from a record which mentions definite names and describes events.[82] On the other hand, a comparison of Bright's writing in Early Israel in Recent Writing (1956) and in A History of Israel (1959) would seem to indicate a more critical attitude toward the reliability of the traditions concerned.[83]

The contributions of archaeology have played a significant role in keeping Old Testament studies from stagnation and complacency. They were partly responsible for wresting Old Testament studies from the subjective theological approach which viewed the Old Testament as a source of "proof texts" for dogmatic theological positions. When the purely literary or literary-critical school of biblical scholarship was convinced there was little more to do, the archaeological reconstruction of the Ancient Near East began to alter perspectives. A more cautious mood replaced the formerly avowed certainty as scholars recognized the paucity and entire inadequacy of some of their evidence. The Old Testament scholar was forced to a broader training to deal with the many new problems requiring a more clearly defined technique in the evaluation of the whole field of Near Eastern studies. As Old Testament inquiry moved into a study of the oral development of traditions, archaeological endeavors provided insights for the reconstruction of the milieu, civilization and life-situation (Sitz im Leben). The greatest contribution to archaeology has been to those using the historical approach in biblical studies. But, as in other approaches, the use and importance of archaeological data may be minimized by other considerations. For example, where etiology maintains a dominent role, archaeological evidence loses much of its relevance. It would seem then that the role of archaeology, though prompting significant changes within the general frame of Old Testament studies, is largely dependent upon the emphasis of the individual scholar's interpretative method.

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[82] Ibid., p. 144, "One must, therefore, be very cautious in explaining a situation ascertained by means of archaeology as applying to a definite historical event, without relevant written evidence."

[83] J. Alberto Soggin, B.A., Vol. 23 (1960) p. 100.

VI. THE PATRIARCHAL NARRATIVES AND ARCHAEOLOGY

1. The Origin and Character of the Patriarchs

The "Negebite Theory," which placed the origin of the Canaanites and Israelites together in the Negeb of southern Palestine, following a premature and doubtful translation of poems such as "The Legend of Keret" and the "Birth of the Gracious and Beautiful Gods" from the Ras Shamra tablets and dubious interpretations of biblical passages has been dismissed.[2] Another view that, since Ur and Harran were the center of moon-god worship and patriarchal names such as Haran, Laban and Terah appear, the record of the migrations of Abraham was merely the recollection of the spread of the moon-cult from Ur to Harran and finally into Syria-Palestine can only be conjecture.[3]

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[1] A prominent view among French scholars, Virolleaud, Dussaud, et al.

[2] W.F. Albright, "Recent Progress in North Canaanite Research," *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 70 (1938) p. 23; "Was the Patriarch Terah a Canaanite Moon-god?" *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 71 (1938) pp. 35ff,; Cf., B. Vawter, *C.B.Q.*, Vol. 17 (1955) p. 3. Also, R. de Vaux, *Revue Biblique*, Vol. 46 (1937) pp. 535-545.

[3] Reference to E. Dhorme, *L'evolution religieuse d'Israel* (1937). H.G. May, *J.B.L.*, Vol. 60 (1941) p. 113, "Patriarchal names are no longer interpreted as the names of Gods." Cf., M.F. Unger, *B. Sacra*, Vol. 105 (1948) pp. 320f. "Abraham, Isaac and Jacob have been widely held to be lunar or astral figures, ancient Canaanite divinities, mythical heroes, mere personifications or clans or tribes, legendary founders of Canaanite sanctuaries, or fictitious characters in cycles of legends... Archaeology has demonstrated the consummate folly of trying to dissolve the Patriarchs into mythical or legendary heroes."

The growing awareness of the West Semitic or Amorite civilization of the first part of the second millenium has magnified the probability that the Fathers of Israel were one small branch of the Amorite movement, which undoubtedly was in contact with the Sumero-Accadian culture.[4] Professor Frank M. Cross Jr. has shown that the Amorite or Proto-Aramaean connections of the patriarchs in the region of Harran and Nahor (Nakhur) have been established.[5] Since the region of Harran was probably under the control of Mari, the preservation of the names of some of the patriarchs in place names in the Valley of the Balikh River south of Harran, in inscriptions and in the Mari letters, not only indicate that these names were in common use at the time and locale assigned to the patriarchs, but that the kingdom of Mari was the area of Western Semite or Amorite concentration from which the patriarchs came.[6]

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[4] G.E. Wright, B.A., Vol. 10 (1947) p. 12.

[5] Frank M. Cross, Jr., B.A., Vol. 10 (1947) p. 48. "The Cappadocian Tablets (19th Century B.C.), Babylonian documents from the First Dynasty of Babylon (The Age of Hammurabi, *circa*. 1830 to the fall of Babylon, *circa*. 1550), and especially the Nuzu Tablets (15th century) and the archives of Mari (18th century) have given remarkable parallels to the mores, the religious practices and background, and the names of the Patriarchs."

[6] George E. Mendenhall, B.A., Vol. 11 (1948) p. 15.

Professor G.E. Wright conceived of the migration of the Hebrew tribes from their semi-nomadic existence in the Harran vicinity to Canaan as "a movement of uncultured 'barbarians' into the scenes of self-conscious civilization.[7] But while most scholars were convinced of the historicity of the patriarchal narratives and the existence of specific individuals, Professor James Muilenburg felt that the nativity reports of the sons of Jacob-Israel are concerned with eponyms rather than historical persons and that such a representation must be the product of a time when the twelve tribes were federated into a single body, i.e., the period after the Conquest of Palestine.[8]

Professor Nahum M. Sarna took exception to the concept that the early Semites are to be identified with the ancient nomads, or seminomads, of the Arabian Desert,[9] and suggested that Professor S. Moscati[10] and others[11] who insisted upon the nomadic nature of the migrations, failed to note the importance of the movement of peoples between the great centers of civilization within the area of the Fertile Crescent.[12] Already earlier, Professor G.E. Mendenhall had objected to alleged parallels to bedouin Arab tribes as a point of departure for the understanding of biblical traditions concerning the patriarchs.[13] Abraham, and the Amorites generally, were not typical nomads,[14] but were in contact with high civilizations and often in covenant relations with them.[15]

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[7] "Epic of Conquest," B.A., Vol. 3 (1940) p. 26, "The people of Israel were never productive in the arts and refinements of material existence. These they but imperfectly absorbed from their neighbors. The genius of Israel and its contribution to civilization lay rather in the fields of religion and of literature." Also, B.A., Vol. 10 (1947) pp. 19f, "It cannot be objected that Patriarchal nomadism would naturally be more "primitive" than the inhabitants of contemporary Palestine."

[8] James Muilenberg, J.B.L., Vol. 75 (1956) p. 194.

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[9] Jehoshua M. Grintz, J.N.E.S., Vol. 21 (1962) p. 190, "A generation or two ago it was still possible for Wellhausen and his school to toy with the fantastic notion that the Israelites, Edomites, etc., all came from Arabia. Today, however, after the rich archaeological finds of a few years ago in north Mesopotamia, no serious scholar doubts the verity of the Biblical tradition, which states that the Hebrew -- Abraham's and Lot's forebears -- lived at Harran and its immediate environs. In short, this entire hypothesis which rests upon an analogy with the Arabs, is at the very least misleading."

[10] Sabatino Moscati, The Semites in Ancient History. Cardiff: University of Wales, 1959. For Professor Moscati the Sematic infiltration was in large measure a peaceful process that can be traced back to long before Sargon's dynasty at Akkad.

[11] E.W.K. Mould, Essentials of Bible History. New York: Ronald Press Co., 1951, pp. 23f.; Cf., William L. Reed, Encounter, Vol. 26 (1965) p. 146.

[12] Nahum M. Sarna, J.B.L., Vol. 79 (1960) pp. 288f.

[13] George E. Mendenhall, B.A., Vol. 17 (1954) p. 56.

The view of the patriarchs as merchants has been emphasized by Professor Cyrus H. Gordon, though in a later period than is usually accepted. He connected Abraham's migration with a larger movement of "international entrepreneurs from the Ur and Harran area," who under imperial Hittite sponsorship established a Hittite enclave at Hebron.[16] He also endeavored to show that Abraham himself was in the service of the Hittite monarch.[17] Described as a man rich in gold, silver, and livestock, Abraham the merchant was able to pay four hundred shekels of silver for the field of Machpelah. This role also seemed to be characteristic of the later patriarchs, for when the Shechemites urged a union, their inducements were the right to settle down, to acquire real estate, and to engage in trade.[18] Similarly, Joseph offered trading privileges to his brothers in Egypt.[19] Thus for Professor Gordon, Abraham was a merchant prince in the highly cultured Amarna Age.[20]

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[14] J.M. Grintz, J.N.E.S., Vol. 21 (1962) p. 197, "It is true that the picture of the Patriarchs painted for us by the Bible is of 'nomads' but this nomadism has no connection whatsoever with Arabia and its Bedouin."

[15] Mendenhall argued that nomads were never equated with 'Apiru, which he seemed to equate with "Hebrews," outsiders "who have no legal status and as heads of roving bands who have covenant relationships with the city-states of Palestine."

[16] C.H. Gordon, Encounter, Vol. 21 (1960) pp. 143-148.

[17] Genesis 23:6 states that the Hittites of Hebron addressed Abraham as "an exalted prince in our midst." This, according to Gordon, shows that Abraham enjoyed the status of their prince precisely because he was in the service of the Hittite monarch. Genesis 27:46 presents Rebecca expressing displeasure at the prospect of having Hittite daughters-in-law, which would seem to suggest that intermarriage with Hittites existed. The Assyrian reference to Canaan as Hattu (Hittite Land) makes it clear that Hittite influence was strong throughout Canaan.

The most recent distinctive view of the role of the patriarchs has come from Professor Albright who suggested that the Middle Bronze I Age was characterized by intense donkey-caravan activity from the north through Palestine to Egypt.[21] The density of the round, stone "bee-hive" type hut settlements near terraced valleys and hillsides in the Negeb and stretching to the Suez traced the network of caravan routes.[22] The key points mentioned along Abraham's migration route seem to lend credence to this view. Ur was the major commercial capital,[23] Harran meant "caravan city,"[24] Damascus was later called "The Land of Asses."[25] Shechem seems to have had a strong "donkey" tradition in both Genesis and Judges,[26] and in both Hebron[27] and Gerar[28] Abraham was recognized as a "resident alien."

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[18] Genesis 34:10.

[19] Genesis 42:34.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 143. While others are in agreement with Gordon concerning Abraham's role as a merchant (e.g., Albright), on his dating of the patriarchal period within the Amarna Age, Gordon stands alone.

[21] The terrain is ideal for donkeys which alone could carry the fragile earthware without constant danger of breakage. The sudden necessity of irrigated fields may suggest the necessity of providing fodder for the animals along the routes. Among the 15th century Alalakh tablets is a series listing rations for the domesticated animals. Cf., W.G. Lambert, *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 160 (1960) pp. 42-43.

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[22] The caravan routes of the Early Second Millenium B.C. in the far north reached from Assur to eastern Cappadocia and in the South from Babylonia to Egypt across Southwestern Asia.

[23] Ur reached its height as a trade center from the second half of the twenty-first century to 1955 B.C. when the Elamites destroyed it. It was rebuilt and continued as an important commercial center under the Larsa dynasty especially during the second half of the 19th century B.C. W.F. Albright, B.A.S.O.R., No. 163 (1961) p. 44.

[24] Harran on the Balikh was center of operations for commerce between Assyria and Iran in the east and Syria-Egypt in the west.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 47.

The *"ḥamor"* (ass) and the *"Bene Ḥamor"* are factors which consistently reappear in the Shechem traditions. References in Mari tablets to "killing an ass" as the ritual of making a treaty or covenant of peace,[29] suggest that the *"Bene Ḥamor"* may be understood to mean "Sons of the Ass-Covenant."[30] Thus, it would seem, Abraham was a caravaneer of high repute on one of the major commercial arteries of his day, Ur to Egypt.[31]

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[26] Bernard W. Anderson, "The Place of Shechem in the Bible" *B.A.*, Vol. 20 (1957) pp. 10-19. Associated with all the patriarchs except Isaac, Shechem at times enjoyed peaceful trade relations with the patriarchs and at other times was in armed conflict (Gen. 33:18-20; 37:12-14; 34, 49:5-7). The earliest archaeological level at Shechem is from the end of the period generally assigned to the great Amorite migrations. Cf. Edward F. Campbell, Jr., and James F. Ross, *B.A.*, Vol. 26 (1963) p. 7. Cf., C.H. Gordon, *Encounter*, Vol. 21 (1960) p. 143.

[27] The reference to Ephron as a "Hittite" is explained by Albright as having a connection with the later Hurrian and Indo-Aryan rule of Hebron a little later. That Hebron was a caravan center is clear. *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 163 (1961) p. 48.

[28] Abraham was stationed in Gerar (his house and family stayed there while he was leading caravan in the Sinai). Genesis 20:1, should then be rendered according to Albright: "And Abraham departed from there to the Land of the South (Negeb) and he continued (living) between Kadesh and the Wall (of Egypt) while he became an alien resident (gēr) of Gerar."

[29] G.E. Mendenhall, "Mari" *B.A.*, Vol. XI (1948) pp. 1-18; Cf., J.C.L. Gibson, "Light from Mari on the Patriarchs" *Journal of Semitic Studies*, Vol. III, (1962) pp. 44-62.

[30] W.F. Albright, *F.S.A.C.*, p. 279. Judges 9:4, 46, The name of the Shechem sanctuary, "House of El (or Baal) of the Covenant" during the time of Abimelech may well be the continuation of this Amorite "covenant" tradition.

2. The Ḫa-BI-ru[32]

Excavated documents tell of ḫa-BI-ru in Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, Syria and Palestine during the period from 2000 to 1200 B.C. A study of this material has led to various interpretations concerning the role which these people played. They are described as groups of nomadic or semi-nomadic peoples on the desert borders of the Fertile Crescent who raided urban areas and on occasion, during peace time, were available for hire as mercenaries.[33] In over thirty Nuzian documents making reference to the Ḫa-BI-ru, men, women and families entered into contractual arrangements as household servants. "Ḫabiru" at Nuzu therefore was a social designation for one entering voluntarily into permanent servitude.[34] On occasion these servants who migrated to Nuzu from other areas, were adopted into full membership in the household. Their names belonged to a wide variety of languages, though the majority seemed to be Semitic.[35] Many references have been found concerning their activities (*circa*. 1800 B.C.) in the area of Mari-Harran in the Upper Euphrates region from which Abraham came and from which Isaac and Jacob obtained their wives.[36] For this reason and the similarity of the name most scholars were prepared to identify them with the Hebrews.[37]

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[31] W.F. Albright, B.A.S.O.R., No. 163 (1961) p. 52. Genesis 14:14 contains a reference to Abraham's 318 retainers (with an Egyptian word used during the twentieth century B.C. and later for the retainers of Asiatic chieftains), and the reference in 23:6 to his being a "prince of God" suggest his elevated position. Cf. B.A.S.O.R., No. 168 (1962) p. 37.

[32] The syllabification "ḫa-BI-ru" represents the cuneiform orthography and the capitalization of the second syllable designates a cuneiform sign without indicating preference for either of its two values, namely "bi" or "pi".

[33] G.E. Wright, B.A., Vol. III (1940) pp. 29-30.

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[34] C.H. Gordon, *B.A.*, Vol. III (1940) p. 12; Cf., J. Lewy, *H.U.C.A.*, Vol. 15 (1940) pp. 47-58. Lewy discusses the striking analogies between the legal status of the ḫabiru servant at Nuzi and that of the Hebrew servant as described in the Biblical law. Much as the Biblical law deals with two types of "Hebrew servants," the Nuzu texts also know two classes of habiru, namely those who served for a limited number of years (sometimes, however, until the death of their master), after which they were entitled to leave, and those who were life-long slaves.

[35] The Ḥa-BI-ru household servant of Nuzi presents the closest parallel in ancient Near Eastern tests of the Hebrew bondman of Exodus 21:1. (Compare, E. Chiera, "'Habiru' and Hebrews," *A.J.S.L.*, Vol. 49 (1932-3) pp. 115ff; J. Lewy *H.U.C.A.*, Vol. 14 (1939) pp. 587 ff.; Vol. 15 (1940) pp. 47ff.; M. Greenberg, *The Ḫab/piru*, (1955) pp. 23-30.

[36] G.E. Wright, *op. cit*.

[37] C.H. Gordon, *B.A.*, Vol. III (1940) pp. 1-12.

In Egypt during the Nineteenth Dynasty (after circa. 1320 B.C.),[38] another group of the same social status called 'Apiru, like the Hebrews, were forced to work on royal projects.[39] Quite naturally then there was an equation of the three words as referring to the same class or people.[40] However, while the identification of the name "Hebrews" with that of the Ḥa-BI-ru, or SA·GAZ,[41] was almost accepted without exception following the publication of the Amarna tablets, Professor Emil G. Kraeling was adamant, and with new discoveries at Ras Shamra by Charles Virolleaud, attempted to demonstrate that the correct form of the name was Ḥapiri (or Ḥapiru), making the equation with the Hebrews more difficult.[42] In spite of this apparent linguistic difference, others were convinced that a study of the analogies between Nuzian and el-Amarna and biblical documents and the conclusions to be drawn from such analogies made a purely linguistic answer insufficient.[43]

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[38] Leroy Waterman, J.B.L., Vol. 59 (1940) p. 401. Waterman suggests that 'Apiru were reported in Egypt both before and after Israel's sojourn there.

[39] C.H. Gordon, B.A., Vol. III (1940) p. 12. The voluntary entrance into permanent slavery was a practical solution of the poverty for the Ḫabiru (Hebrews). They acquired security by joining wealthy households as slaves.

[40] T.J. Meek, Journal of Religion, Vol. 21 (1941) p. 405.

[41] The SA.GAZ are mentioned in 57 of the letters written to the Egyptian court, or directly to Amenophis IV by the princes of Palestine and Syria. The authors of the letters made urgent requests for aid against the SA.GAZ who were taking towns and uniting with the disloyal vassals of Egypt. Abdi-Ḥepa of Jerusalem in five letters made similar pleas for help against the Ḥa-BI-ru. H. Winckler in 1895 first noticed the resemblance between the activities and believed that the ideogram SA.GAZ was used to indicate the Ḫa-BI-ru people. H. Winckler, Geschichte Israels, Leipzig, 1895. Vol. I, pp. 18f. Cf., M.P. Gray, H.U.C.A., Vol. 29 (1958) p. 139.

Though the terms seemed not to be primarily racial, it was generally agreed that the evidence pointed to the same type of people -- a social status.[44] Assured of the relationship between the Hebrews and the Ḥa-BI-ru, some scholars were confronted only with explaining the divergent Ugaritic reading '*prm*.[45] It became evident that the discovery at Ras Shamra could not dislodge the far-reaching historical conclusions which had been drawn from the references to the Ḥa-BI-ru in the el-Amarna tablets and elsewhere.[46]

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[42] Emil G. Kraeling, *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 77 (1940) pp.32f. The town (?) called "Khalb of the Khapiru" in Accadian is called "Khalb of the 'apirim" (not 'ibriyyim = "Hebrews," or the like) in Ugaritic. Cf. H.L. Ginsberg, *B.A.*, Vol. III (1945) p. 48.

[43] J. Lewy, *H.U.C.A.*, Vol. 15 (1940) p. 49.

[44] *idem.*, "Habiru and Hebrews" *H.U.C.A.*, Vol. 14 (1939) pp. 587f.

[45] J.W. Jack, "New Light on the Habiru-Hebrew Question" *P.E.Q.*, (1940) p. 100; Cf., H.H. Rowley, "Ras Shamra and the Habiru Question," *P.E.Q.*, (1940) pp. 90f.

[46] J. Philip Hyatt, *J.B.R.*, Vol. 10 (1942) p. 70.

But what was the specific role which these people played in Palestine? Discovered during archaeological excavations at Tell el-Amarna in 1887, a large number of Akkadian (cuneiform) letters, which originally had been sent by Egyptian vassals in Palestine and Syria to the Pharaoh, complained of the activities of the Ḥa-BI-ru. They contain a picture of the cultural development in Palestine circa. 1400 B.C., and of these people which were disrupting the political and economic stability of the country.

Thus, together with the premature dating of the conquest of Jericho in the fifteenth century B.C. by John Garstang,[47] and the Stele of Merneptah which seemed to suggest that the Israelites were in Western Palestine before 1220 B.C., references to the Ḥa-BI-ru indicated the invasion of the Israelite tribes.[48] However, Lewy pointed out that "...no passage in the Amarna letters shows that they were nomadic invaders."[49] The nature of the complaints in the letters suggested a social revolution within the land rather than invasion from without.[50] H.H. Rowley insisted that the Ḥa-BI-ru of the Amarna letters could represent one of the waves of Hebrew or Israelite immigrants without the philological equation.[51] Three of the six or seven places in Southern Palestine from which letters were received mentioning the activities of the Ḥa-BI-ru were also associated with Israelite conquests which, according to Rowley, occurred before the time of Joshua. Placing these conquests in the Amarna Age and equating the two movements, for Rowley, involved no straining of the possibilities.[52]

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[47] John Garstang did not equate the ḥa-BI-ru with the Hebrews under Joshua. Joshua Judges, (1931) pp. 256f. "The original invasion of Canaan by the Hebrew-Israelites under Joshua was ... distinct both in character and in date from that of the Hebrew-Ḥabiru." But other popular writers were not equally cautious. Charles Marston stated that the Old Testament account of the invasion of Canaan as confirmed "by the Tel el Amarna letters, written at this same period, which mention the Habiru invasion, and even the very name of Joshua" (See, The Bible is True, (1934) p. 268). the reference of "the very name of Joshua" is to a Yashuia, presumably a Canaanite official in the Egyptian service, mentioned by Matba'lu, ruler of Gezer, in a letter to Yanḥamu (E.A. 256. 18).

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[48] Roger T. O'Callaghan, C.B.Q., Vol. 6 (1944) p. 393.

[49] J. Lewy, H.U.C.A., Vol. XIV (1939) p. 615.

[50] E.G. Kraeling, A.J.S.L., Vol. 58 (1941) p. 240. "If we find the statement in Amarna 67:17 that 'Aziru is an escaped dog like the SA.GAZ' and Ḥa-BI-ru in the Amarna period are run away or emancipated servants (many of them doubtless men who were in military service) who band together and seize control of local towns and communities."

[51] H.H. Rowley, P.E.Q., (1940) p. 93.

The evidence increasingly led to the acceptance of the ḫa-BI-ru as a designation in use all over the Orient in the second millenium B.C. for men of any and every nationality who were economically rootless or broken rather than of racial kinship.[53] Since most of the Ugaritic documents were copied in the second quarter of the fourteenth century B.C. and earlier, and archaeological and literary indications pointed toward the Israelite conquest of Palestine during the third quarter of the thirteenth century B.C., the specific identification of the Israelites with the Ḫa-BI-ru became most remote.[54] Nevertheless, attempts to maintain the equation continued.[55]

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[52] H.H. Rowley, *J.N.E.S.*, Vol. III (1944) p. 74. The sites and letters include Gezer and Ashkelon (Knudtzon 287), Seir and Lachish (287 and 288), Gath and Keilah (290), and perhaps Rabbah (290). "In Judges 1:18 the conquest of Ashkelon is represented as part of the independent movement of Judah and Simeon which we have seen reason to place earlier than the age of Joshua. ...Lachish and Gezer...conquest may...belong to an earlier movement."

[53] H.L. Ginsberg, *B.A.*, Vol. VIII (1945) p. 48.

[54] *Ibid*., p. 48, n.2.

[55] M.F. Unger, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Vol. 108 (1951) p. 17; Vol. 110 (1953) pp. 303f. "...the philological equation Hebrew-Habiru seems assured.) R.M. Earle, *The Asbury Seminarian*, Vol. 1 (1946) p. 98. "These Habiru are pretty generally identified with the Hebrews."

During 1957 and 1958, two lengthy discussions presented conflicting solutions to the identity of the Ḥa-BI-ru. Meredith G. Kline maintained that though an "ethnic" view was not without problems, the characteristic core of the Ḥa-BI-ru represented one ethnic stock.[56] Mary P. Gray argued that "no simple ethnic equivalent suffices as a definition of the Ḥâbirû since the sources characterize them as newcomers from different lands. No town or country known by the name Ḥabir is attested in any source."[57] And while Kline stated that "...they are almost everywhere and always engaged as professional warriors,"[58] Smith maintained that they were employed in many ways; frequently as soldiers, but also as messengers, scribes, unskilled labor in the stone quarries and building projects of the pharaohs, vineyard workers, and as general servants.[59] Disagreement continued in the respective discussions concerning the relation of the Ḥa-BI-ru to the Israelites (Hebrews).[60] Kline, citing the recasting of the Biblical data in relation to the Ḥa-BI-ru necessitated by maintaining a thirteenth century date for the conquest, suggested that the penetration of Canaan from the North by the Ḥa-BI-ru of Israel as well as of Egypt.[61] Smith equated the Hebrews and the Ḥa-BI-ru and consequently found the question of the date of the conquest of Palestine irrelevant, since the Ḥa-BI-ru (Hebrews) were present everywhere in the Near East in the second millenium.[62]

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[56] Meredith G. Kline, Westminster Theological Journal, Vol. 19 (1957) pp. 174-6. "Ethnic unity need not have been the only or even the dominant element in the Gestalt called ḥa-BI-ru," but, according to the author, being distinguished from other ethnic groups, having their own gods, and establishing peace treaties and covenant oaths with kings, are more compatible with an ethnic than with a social classification.

[57] Mary P. Gray, H.U.C.A., Vol. 29 (1958) p. 167.

[58] M.G. Kline, op. cit., p. 176 - "They man the garrisons at Ur, Larsa, Babylon, Susa, and in Anatolia; conduct razzias along the Euphrates and throughout Canaan; and endure the fate of captives of war in Egypt."

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[59] M.P. Gray, op. cit.

[60] In reviewing John Gray's Archaeology and the Old Testament World, Kline criticized the author for espousing "the time-honored but unsatisfactory view of the ḥabiru as a loose class of landless people" and for closely relating "...their captivities in Amarna Age Canaan to the biblical traditions of the Hebrew conquest." See, Westminster Theological Journal, Vol. 26 (1964) p. 87.

[61] M.G. Kline, op. cit., p. 69. "It is difficult to dissociate the oppression of Israel by Cushan-rishathaim (king of Aram Nahariam) from the ḥa-BI-ru menace of the Amarna letters. ...it appears then that it was from plundering ḥa-BI-ru mercenaries that Othniel delivered oppressed Israel."

[62] M.P. Gray, op. cit., pp. 193-196.

Following a discussion of French Assyriologists, a book prepared and edited by Jean Bottero[63] outlined their general agreement that earlier views concerning the Ḫa-BI-ru had been largely abandoned and that they were now conceived to have been "immigrants" or "resident aliens," "fugitives," "refugees," "uprooted people," "displaced persons," etc. The Ugaritic spelling "Ḫapiru" was now considered inconclusive, and the designation of "alien" or "resident alien" fairly described not only the Ḫa-BI-ru but also the Biblical Hebrews.[64]

Thus it seemed clear that the best solution was to regard the Ḫa-BI-ru as the "refugees" or "displaced persons" of the ancient Near East, i.e., Fleeing criminals and slaves, political dissenters, homeless families, famine victims, the disillusioned and disgraced, nomadic tribesmen allured by the riches of cultivated areas, and those who merely were carried along in the movements of people during the second millenium B.C.[65] If the term was not associated with ethnic origin, presumably people could "become" Ḥa-BI-ru. This "becoming" Ḥa-BI-ru has been interpreted as "withdrawal" or the renunciation of any obligation to the society in which the individual formerly had some standing or status and the deprivation of its protection to find acceptance in some other society.[66] Similarly it would be possible for the Ḥa-BI-ru to also lose this designation. While the Patriarchs in Mesopotamia and Canaan were Ḥa-BI-ru and the ancestors of Israel in Egypt were Ḥa-BI-ru, when under the leadership of Moses and Joshua and the settlement in Canaan they achieved a national consciousness the name fell into disuse with this primary sense. The fact that the name was still used at the close of the period the Judges,[67] would suggest that the Amarna usage applied equally to peoples in Palestine who were being incorporated into Israel at that time, or that the term by that time was attaining an ethnic sense.[68]

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[63] Le probleme des Habiru, Paris, 1954.

[64] J. Lewy, H.U.C.A., Vol. 28 (1957) pp. 2-13. Lewy showed that in Egypt a distinction was made between Hebrews to be identified with the Israelites and those other Hebrews obviously supposed to have belonged to another ethnical group. This same situation seemed to pertain to I Samuel 14. Lewy further suggested (pp. 3f.) that the laws regarding the "Hebrew" slave cannot refer to an Israelite, but rather to an "alien." (Note Leviticus 25)

[65] John C.L. Gibson, J.N.E.S., Vol. 20 (1961) p. 234.

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[66] George E. Mendenhall. B.A., Vol. 25 (1962) p. 71. "...if the early Israelites were called "Hebrews," they could be termed so only from the point of view of some existing, legitimate political society from which they had withdrawn. In other words, no one could be born a "Hebrew"; he became so only by his own action, whether of necessity or by the inability any longer to tolerate the irrationalities of the society in which he was born. ...the gamut of possibilities are well presented in the various treatments of the Ḥab/piru problem already published."

[67] I Samuel 14:21.

[68] John C.L. Gibson, op. cit., p. 237.

A more definitive solution was presented by Professor W.F. Albright. While agreeing that the 'Apiru were stateless, and naturally "freefooters" when they could not make a living in their trade, he maintained, "...they were primarily neither bandits nor condottieri, they were simply men who made the great donkey caravans of the 19th century B.C. possible."[69] For Professor Albright, the "'Apiru-'Abiru" designation of "donkey-driver, caravaneer, huckster" was becoming "clearer all the time."[70] This latest view was based on a new interpretation of all the archaeological information and the equation of 'Abiru, 'Eber and 'Ibri. And so with the novelty of this new interpretation it became clear that the discussion of this topic would continued.

However, while this seeming confusion as to the understanding of the Ḥa-BI-ru continued, sidelights seemed to be helpful. In a letter to the Pharaoh (EA 289),[71] 'Abdu-ḥeba. prince of Jerusalem, asking for aid to withstand the enemies who were attacking the Pharaoh's land, raised an alternative, "Or should be do like Lab³ayu who gave the land of Shechem to the 'Apiru?" The letter indicates that Lab³ayu and his people were in covenant relationship with the 'Apiru and were supporting their attempts to gain control of other lands and cities in Palestine. Other letters indicated that Lab³ayu's sons continued their father's policy.[72] In another Amarna letter, Lab³ayu protested that his city had been conquered by treachery. Having made peace with the chief of the conquerors and taken an oath, he and his men did not fight when the agreement was broken and therefore two of his cities became an easy prey.[73] The similarity of the story of Genesis 34 prompted Professor H.H. Rowley to equate the two events and thus placed the entrance of Simeon and Levi into Canaan during the Amarna Age.[74] Comparable events are recorded in the Genesis traditions concerning the sons of Ḥamor of Shechem and Jacob and his family.[75] More significant is the fact that in the narratives concerning the conquest by Joshua, there is no record of the capture of Shechem, but rather the city appears to have been under the control of people sympathetic with the invading Israelites and was already an acknowledged setting for Israelite worship.[76]

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[69] W.F. Albright, B.A.S.O.R., No. 163 (1961) p. 54.

[70] idem, B.A.S.O.R., No. 168 (1962) p. 37.

[71] Knudtzon 289:22ff.

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[72] W. Harrelson, B.A., Vol.20 (1957) pp. 6-8.

[73] Knudtzon 256:9ff.

[74] H.H. Rowley, J.N.E.S., Vol. 3 (1944) p. 75.

[75] Genesis 33:18-20; 48:21-22; 49:5-7.

[76] W. Harrelson, op. cit., pp. 8f; See, Duet. 11:26-32; Joshua 8:30-35.

3. The Date of the Patriarchs

Since, in the early forties, Hebrew chronology was obscure for dates before the eleventh century B.C., there was little unanimity of opinion with reference to the chronology of the patriarchs.[77] If indeed the patriarchs were semi-nomands tending their flocks and making seasonal migrations north and south in the central hill country,[78] their activities tended to coincide with the Middle Bronze period. The archaeological history of Palestine indicated a complete disruption of urban activity during the first phase of the Middle Bronze period, circa. 2000 B.C.,[79] and a sparsely populated hill country after the main arteries of commerce again began to flourish in the Plain.[80] Thus while the general cultural picture was clear, there was diversity concerning the specific date of the patriarchal migration into Canaan.[81] Professor W.F. Albright suggested that the activities of the patriarchs recorded in Genesis twelve to fifty could be dated between 1700 and 1550 B.C., (in the last phase of the Middle Bronze Age, if the attack of the Mesopotamian kings mentioned in Genesis 14 could be identified with the time of Abi-eshuḫ or Ammi-ditana of Babylon, during the period when Hyksos power was declining.[82]

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[77] W.F. Albright, B.A.S.O.R., No. 88 (1942) p. 33.

[78] R.T. O'Callaghan, C.B.Q., Vol. 6 (1944) p. 397.

[79] W.F. Albright, B.A.S.O.R., No. 81 (1941) p. 18.

[80] G.E. Wright, J.B.L., Vol. 60 (1941) p. 41: Cf., M.F. Unger, B. Sacra, Vol. 110 (1953) p. 229.

According to Professor W.G. Williams, the events of the Abraham stories must be placed in a period before the Hittite fertility religion impinged upon Phoenician and Canaanite culture.[83] The Jacob and Esau stories reflected the period of the late eighteenth and seventeenth centuries

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[81] Meredith G. Kline, Westminster Theological Journal, Vol. 23 (1961) p. 198. In a review of A History of Israel. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1959, John Bright, who maintained a date of the twentieth to early sixteenth centuries B.C. for the patriarchal period, is reprimanded for not having "...greater alacrity in going all the way with the Biblical and archaeological evidence to the period between the twenty-first and the nineteenth centuries for the patriarchal age..."

[82] W.F. Albright, B.A.S.O.R., No. 88 (1942) pp. 35f. Only as the actual personalities and events can be factually linked to extrabiblical sources will there be agreement concerning the specific date of the patriarchal age. Professor C.H. Gordon suggested that the names of the kings named in Genesis 14 provide the best opportunities for settling the issue. C.H. Gordon, H.U.C.A., Vol. 26 (1955) p. 45.

[83] The Abraham stories contain no reference to the Baal cultus or fertility rites.

B.C., and the Joseph stories that period of Egyptian history when the Hyksos were in control.[84] Professor G.E. Wright suggested that the patriarchs reached Palestine during the period between 2000 and 1500 B.C.,[85] since Professor Albright had shown that names such as Malki-ṣedeq, Jacob (as ya-a (AḪ)-qu-ub-ilu, Ya'qob-el, Y'qb-Hr), Abram (as aba(m)ram(a)), and Abraham (as Aburahana) were extant during this period.[86] Not only do many of the names of the patriarchs fit squarely into the onomasticon of the first half of the second millenium B.C., and not into the corpus of names of any later period, but some of the names of patriarchal ancestors have been recognized as the names of towns in the Harran area.[87]

The explorations of Professor Nelson Glueck have contributed significantly to the dating of the events in the lives of the patriarchs. Throughout the period of this study Professor Glueck argued for Middle Bronze I as the "Age of Abraham."[88] It was his contention that the Middle Bronze I period alone corresponded with the biblical picture of Abraham's association with the "cities of the plain" in Genesis 14 and with inhabited areas in the Negeb.[89] This according to Professor Wright is "the only concrete bit of archaeological information bearing directly, rather than indirectly, on the date of the patriarchs."[90] Professor Glueck identified the events of Genesis 14 and the conquest of Transjordan with the destruction about 1900 B.C. of a long line of ancient sites along the course of the Eastern kings' march.[91] The continuation of that campaign of Chedorloamer to and from 'Ain Mishpat (Qadesh-barnea) also brought to an end the Middle Bronze I cities and settlements in the Negeb.[92] Similarly, the feasibility of a journey to and from Egypt such as that described in Genesis 12 and 13 fits the picture of the Middle Bronze I Age when more than two hundred and twenty-five ancient sites dotted the Negeb.[93] Professor Albright similarly explained the end of settlements in southern Transjordan and in the Negeb of Western Palestine which Professor Glueck discovered during his extensive archaeological surveys.[94] He further conjectured that the invasion by the four kingdom coalition from the North, described in Genesis 14, may well have been directed against Egypt and may explain the sudden demise of the twelfth Dynasty in the early eighteenth century B.C.[95]

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[84] Walter G. Williams, The Iliff Review, Vol. 2 (1945) p. 174.

[85] G.E. Wright, B.A., Vol. 6 (1943) p. 20.

[86] W.F. Albright, B.A.S.O.R., No. 88 (1942) p. 36, n. 39.

[87] G.E. Wright, B.A., Vol. 10 (1947) p. 12.

[88] N. Glueck, B.A., Vol. 18 (1955) p. 6.

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[89] *idem.*, Vol. 22 (1959) p. 88, "...numerous M.B. I sites ...confirmed the general validity of the historical memories of the age of Abraham surviving in chapters 12, 13 and 14 of the Book of Genesis has been fleshed out into firm knowledge by discoveries of Middle Bronze I sites made every time we have gone forth into the Negev during the successive years..." Cf., C.H. Gordon, *Encounter*, Vol. 21 (1960) p. 142, "It is hoped that scholars will no longer be inclined to downgrade the authenticity of Genesis 14."

[90] G.E. Wright, *B.A.*, Vol. 22 (1959) p. 99.

[91] N. Glueck, *B.A.*, Vol. 10 (1947) p. 77. "...the Eastern kings led by Chedorlaomer conquered all of Transjordan, by subduing and destroying one after another all the fortified sites which lay in their path, from Ashtaroth and Ham at the northern end to el-Paran ... most of which were never again occupied, or at least not until after the lapse of approximately 600 years."

[92] idem., *B.A.*, Vol. 18 (1955) p. 6.

While most scholars seemed inclined to date the patriarchs during the Middle Bronze I Age or shortly after,[96]

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[93] Ibid., pp. 4-6. Cf., H.U.C.A., Vol. 32 (1961) p. 12, "...the time of Abraham cannot be placed after the 19th century B.C." Also, James B. Pritchard, J.Q.R., Vol. 50 (1960) pp. 182-4.

[94] W.F. Albright, B.A.S.O.R., No. 163 (1961) p. 50, n. 68.

[95] N. Glueck, Rivers in the Desert, pp. 68-70.

[96] G.E. Wright, J.B.L., Vol. 77 (1958) p. 43. (...at the end of the third millenium, invaders, presumably from the desert fringes of the Fertile Crescent, wiped out every vestige of the Early Bronze Age civilization. ...This was undoubtedly a complex movement, ultimately the source, not only of the dynasty at Mari with its great library, ...but also of the patriarchal migrations of biblical tradition..." Cf., S. Moscati, J.B.R., Vol. 24 (1956) pp. 245, 253.

Professor Cyrus H. Gordon was not convinced that this is the only period into which Abraham "fits." Since the many parallels to the patriarchal narratives come from the cuneiform documents written in widely different areas,[97] i.e., Nuzu, Ugarit, and Hattusas, of the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C.,[98] are so closely related by social, economic, religious, literary and even military aspects to the Genesis narratives,[99] they can only come from the same general era.[100] Thus the patriarchal generations should be assigned to the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C.[101]

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[97] J.N.E.S., Vol. 13 (1954) p. 54.

[98] Nuzu and the Harran area lay within the confines of the Hurrian Kingdom of Mitanni. During this period Canaan was so much under the Hurrian influence that the Egyptian referred to it as Hurru-land.

[99] *Op. cit.*, pp. 56-7. "Just as the social institutions of the narratives are paralleled in Nuzu, the literary motifs of the narratives are paralleled often and plainly enough in the legends (rather than the myths) of Ugarit."

[100] J.B.R., Vol. 21 (1953) pp. 238-243. "The patriarchal narratives are no longer a mystery in isolation; they now fit into a well-documented historic context. ...the days of the patriarchs witnessed the great cultural synthesis known as the Amarna Age (15th-14th centuries BC)..."

[101] *Encounter*, Vol. 21 (1960) p. 139 "...the earliest memories about Abraham can hark back no earlier than the Amarna Age (late fifteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries) and the entire patriarchal period falls with what classical scholars called the Mycenaean Age."

Professor W.F. Albright is equally convinced that a date for Abraham in the fifteenth or fourteenth century B.C. is not acceptable because names of early Hebrew individuals and tribal groups did not survive into the Late Bronze Age to which unique names of the Mosaic era specifically belong,[102] gaps in genealogical traditions also evident elsewhere are to be expected in oral traditions from uneventful and uninteresting periods of history,[103] and the early Hebrew dating by lifetimes required a longer period of time for the sojourn in Egypt.[104] The arrival of the

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[102] W.F. Albright, B.A.S.O.R., No. 163 (1961) p. 49. The names of the Eastern kings in Genesis 14 now have probable identifications in extra-biblical literature. (Chedor-laomer = Elamite Kudur-X; Arioch - "Arriyuk" in Mari correspondence; "Tidal" (TD'L) = Ugaritic spelling of Hittite royal name "Tudḫalia, as TDḠL (= TD'L in Hebrew); "Amraphel" = the name of the important Amorite tribe and region of Emutbal between Elam and Babylonia.) These documents and names are dated in the 19th century B.C. or shortly after.

[103] Such a practice common in Arabia, Africa and the Pacific Islands is in the Bible paralleled by the genealogies including only the patriarchs and the heads of their clans and then jumping to the fathers of the Exodus figureheads.

[104] Ibid., p. 51. Albright claims that dating was by lifetimes rather than generations until about the tenth century B.C. Genesis 15:13,16 which equates 400 years with four generations is a translation of the archaic form into classical Hebrew. This 400 years according to Professor Albright corresponds to the Hyksos era in Egypt. An additional 30 years from the accession of Sethos I to the Exodus would agree with Exodus 12:40. Cf., C.H. Gordon, J.N.E.S., Vol. 13 (1954) p. 58. With the date of the Exodus fixed at approximately 1225 B.C., Professor Gordon estimated the time between Moses and Abraham as "five forefathers."

Patriarch Abraham must therefore fall earlier, i.e., the nineteenth century B.C.[105]

4. The Social Institutions of the Patriarchs

There are a number of patriarchal narratives concerning social customs which had been used as criteria of Israel's moral and ethical principles which have won a new respect as a result of recent discoveries. Especially significant are the repeated motif of passing one's wife as a sister,[106] the transfer of blessing from Esau to Jacob,[107] and Rachel's removal of her father's household gods.[108] Moral judgments concerning these incidents have been ruled out since they have now been shown to reflect accurately the customs and usages peculiar to the societies with which the patriarchs maintained relations, and are wholly devoid of any ethical implications in their proper social setting. Among the Hurrians, a people with whom the western Semites are known to have lived in close relations, the wife-sister motif was a prominent feature.[109] The wife who enjoyed the status, though not necessarily the blood ties, of a sister commanded greater protection and prestige than the ordinary wife. Thus the actions of Abraham and Isaac in claiming a sister-wife relationship with their spouses was based on recognized northern practices.

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[105] Ibid., p. 49; Cf., Joseph A. Calloway, B.A., Vol. 26 (1963) p. 87.

[106] Genesis 12:10-13:1; 20:1-8; 26:1-11.

[107] Genesis 27.

[108] Genesis 31:19, 30, 32.

The direct legal consequence of birthright was the title to a double and preferential portion of the father's estate. However, in Hurrian society, the birthright did not always belong to the eldest son. In particular circumstances one of the younger sons could be designated by the father. Thus the determining factor was the father's discretion rather than chronologically first-born.[110] The blessing of a dying father was an irrevocable last will and testament, and in Nuzu where even the trivial transactions were carefully documented, the oral "blessing" was upheld in court.[111] The resemblance between the biblical and Nuzian practices of inheritance in regard to illegitimate sons, the rights of the errêbu and adopted son, of the slave, and of daughters strongly suggests a common social millieu as the original source of both.[112]

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[109] Similar practices were found among the Hittites. See E.A. Speiser, "The Biblical Idea of History in its Common Near Eastern Setting," I.E.J., Vol. 7 (1957) pp. 201-216.

[110] A.E. Speiser, "I Know not the Day of my Death," J.B.L., No. 74 (1955) pp. 252-256; Cf., "The Hurrian Participation in the Civilizations of Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine," Journal of World History, Vol. 1,(1953) pp. 323-324.

[111] C.H. Gordon, Encounter, Vol. 21 (1960) pp. 141ff.

The Nuzi texts further indicated that the transfer of the father's household gods was a prerequisite in some cases where property was to pass to the daughter's husband. Thus in the light of previous relations between Jacob and Laban, Rachel's removal of the household gods was an act in which she took the law into her own hands as a precaution against Laban, her greedy father. C.H. Gordon and T.H. Gaster have shown that according to Nuzi law,[113] the procession of the household gods implied leadership of the family in Mesopotamian custom.[114] Thus Rachel's theft of Laban's household gods may also have been intended to establish Jacob as the head of Laban's family household to apportion the family estate and to guide its younger members.[115] Parallels in the Nuzi tablets seem to indicate clearly that the general picture of patriarchal society was not distorted during a millenium of oral transmission.[116] The discovery of such close parallels between customs of the patriarchs and the Hurrians, who formed the basic ethnic stock of Harran in northwestern Mesopotamia, the traditionally accepted home of the ancestors of Israel, provided the important link between the patriarchal narratives and the cultural environment of the Middle Bronze Age.[117] Other parallels in the Nuzi tablets had been shown to illustrate Hagar's right to be included in Abraham's family and the illegality of Sarah's expulsion of her (Genesis 21:10).[118] Jacob's being taken into Laban's household and given his daughters in marriage[119] corresponds to the Babylonian custom of errêbu-marriage.[120] According to this custom, a man having no sons of his own gave his daughter as wife to a young man who received only limited powers as a husband over her and became a part of his father-in-law's family.[121] Thus enigmatic episodes and incomprehensible details in the patriarchal narratives received their explanation from the non-Semitic people among whom Abraham and Laban had lived.

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[112] Roger T. O'Callaghan, C.B.Q., Vol. 6 (1944) pp. 398-403.

[113] Gadd 51.

[114] C.H. Gordon, B.A., Vol. 3 (1940) p. 6; T.H. Gaster, J.B.L., Vol. 66 (1947) p. 57.

[115] Genesis 31:19, 30-35.

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[116] C.H. Gordon, B.A., Vol. 3 (1940) pp. 5-9; Encounter, Vol. 21 (1960) pp. 141f.

[117] See Edward Chiera, "A New Factor in the History of the Ancient Near East," A.A.S.O.R., Vol. VI (1926) pp. 75-92; E.A. Speiser, "Ethnic Movements in the Near East in the Second Millenium B.C., A.A.S.O.R., Vol. XIII (1933) pp. 13-54; C.H. Gordon, "The Story of Jacob and Laban in the Light of the Nuzi Tablets," B.A.S.O.R., No. 66 (1937) pp. 25-27.

[118] E.A. Speiser, ibid., p. 44.

[119] Genesis 29.

[120] Millar Burrows, "The Complaint of Laban's Daughter" J.A.O.S., Vol. 57 (1937) pp. 259-76.

Equally strange had been the law of levirate marriage,[122] until a direct acquaintance with ancient Oriental life and customs through archaeology provided the necessary background for understanding. In the Israelite institution the aim of the marriage of a widow to the dead man's brother was the preservation of the husband's "name."[123] This preservation involved the provision of an heir for his property, the continuation of his personal life in the life of a son, and the performance of ancestral rites which were the son's responsibility.[124]

Finds from Mari, Nuzi, Alalaḫ, Boghazköi, Ugarit, and elsewhere have shed much light on other episodes of patriarchal life which have established a new status in terms of antiquity and authenticity of background for the narratives.[125] A tablet from Alalaḫ,[126] similarly showed that a father had the right to disregard the law of primogeniture, and has been especially helpful in explaining the relations of Abraham, Isaac and Ishmael, the rejection of Rueben, and the case of Ephraim and Manasseh.[127] Such illustrations have been used to suggest that, rather than having been invented by a post-Mosaic "J.E.D.P.", the social institutions of the patriarchs have been demonstrated to be genuine and pre-Mosaic.[128] Professor Gordon independently has maintained that because the patriarchs were a part of the great cultural synthesis of the Amarna Age (15th and 14th centuries B.C.), the Babylonian, Hittite, Ugaritic, Egyptian and other texts of the period are now providing these rich insights.[129] On the basis of such discoveries, scholars are tending to accept the live and social customs of the patriarchs in the biblical narrative as authentic reflections of the second millenium B.C. Near Eastern civilization.

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[121] Ibid., p. 263f.

[122] Deuteronomy 25:5-10.

[123] Millar Burrows, "Levirate Marriage in Israel" J.B.L., Vol. 59 (1940) pp. 23-33.

[124] idem., "The Ancient Oriental Background of Hebrew Levirate Marriage," B.A.S.O.R., No. 77 (1940) p. 2.

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[125] A.E. Speiser, I.E.J., Vol. 7 (1957) p. 212.

[126] Tablets dating to the period of Iarimlim (1900-1780 B.C.) and to the time of Ugarit (circa. 1450 B.C.) were excavated by Sir Leonard Woolley at Tel el-Atshana in northern Syria during excavations in 1937-39 and 1946-49.

[127] Edward J. Young, Bibliotheca Sacra, Vol. 122 (1965) p.18.

[128] Cyrus H. Gordon, J.B.R., Vol. 21 (1953) p. 241.

[129] Ibid., p. 238. Since Babylonian was the commonest language for contracts, it is natural that Babylonian elements should exist in pre-exilic biblical law.

5. The Religion of the Patriarchs

A most drastic change has taken place in the concept of the religion of the Patriarchs. W.O.E. Osterley and T.H. Robinson's Hebrew Religion: Its Origin and Development[130] represented a dominant interpretation of the pre-Mosaic religion of the Hebrews. It was an attempt to reconstruct the period wholly from the relics of superstition which they felt had parallels in primitive Semitic religion and persisted into later times. In it animatism, animism, and polytheism; totemism, taboo, and ancestor-worship were taken to have constituted the patriarchal faith.[131] Thus the growth of the "God-idea" could be seen in the patriarchal worship of the spirits in stones, trees, springs and mountains.[132] However, the Ugaritic documents, revealing the mythology of the Canaanites in the middle of the second millenium B.C., indicated that the religious world pictured by them did not exist, and the importance of the Stone Age survivals of relics either in Israel's religion or contemporary polytheism was inadequately understood and over-emphasized.[133] Albright pointed out that according to the religious literature of Ras Shamra from the 15th century, and the archaeological evidence from Ugarit, Byblus, Beth-shan, Megiddo, and Lachish, religion in Canaan was centered in the organized cult in temples and of the same general type as that of Mesopotamia, Asia Minor and the Aegean during the second millenium B.C.[134] There was no polydemonism; henotheism cannot be proved to exist. The religion of Canaan was true polytheism.[135] The patriarchs in Canaan were viewed as worshipping the West-Semitic deity El, the head of the pantheon, and god of settled people at Ugarit, Shechem, or Jerusalem.[136] With first-hand knowledge of Canaanite theology, the Canaanite influence upon the Hebrews' ideas of God have been more clearly seen. The theology of the patriarch seems to have differed very little from the Canaanites' with the possible exception of the worship of the "God of my (thy, etc.) Father."[137] With closest parallels from Assyrian merchant colonies of the nineteenth century B.C. in Cappadocia, the "God of the Fathers" concept seemingly arose out of a desired religious basis for contractual relationships which transcended, or at least were independent of, geographical location, i.e., distinct from a deity worshipped in a given shrine or temple.[138]

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[130] New York: Macmillan, 1930.

[131] The reluctance to change may be recognized in writing after 1940. Note James D. Smart, Journal of Religion, Vol. 23 (1943) p. 126, "That these may have been factors in the religion of patriarchal times is not to be doubted. But there is no evidence upon which to base the assertion that the religion of the patriarchs had in it no other elements than these."

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[132] G.E. Wright, Theology Today, Vol.III (1946) p. 179. The belief that the spirits in sacred springs were worshipped by the patriarchal Hebrews is based on analogy of modern Arab practices, and the evidence of such practice in pre-Hellenistic times is most tenuous. See, W.F. Albright, J.A.O.S., Vol. 60 (1940) pp. 283-301.

[133] G.E. Wright, "Biblical Archaeology Today" B.A., Vol. 10 (1947) pp. 19f. W.F. Albright, J.B.L., Vol 65 (1946) p. 206. Cf. John J. Dougherty, C.B.Q., Vol. 17 (1955) p. 140.

[134] W.F. Albright, J.B.L., Vol. 59 (1940) p. 106.

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[135] T.J. Meek, Review of Religion, (1940) pp. 298ff. Also, J.B.L., Vol. 61 (1942) p. 21 - "No modern scholar of any standing today believes that the Hebrews of the Patriarchal Period were anything but polytheistic."

[136] H.G. May, J.B.L. Vol. LX (1941) pp. 113-128; J.B.R., Vol. IX (1941) pp. 155-158. Cf., J. Philip Hyatt, J.B.R., Vol. X (1942) pp. 67-75.

[137] A. Alt and J. Lewy illustrated the practice of each Patriarch's choosing of his own God. J.P. Hyatt, J.B.R., Vol. X (1942) p. 72; G.E. Wright, B.A., Vol. X (1947) p. 12. Examples of this practice come from Aramaic and Arabic paganism, from the contract tablets of fifteenth century Nuzi, and from Old Assyrian documents of the twentieth century B.C. Also, H.G. May, J.B.L., Vol. 60 (1941) p. 193; J.J. Dougherty, C.B.Q., Vol. 17 (1955) p. 152.

Thus the trend in scholarship was to view the methodological value of ethnology of secondary importance in comprehending patriarchal religion.[139] The reaction against the reduction of the religious ideas of the early Semites to the most backward stages of development was inevitable, and it was archaeology which was responsible for a new orientation in the study of the origins of the Hebrew religion. There was a movement away from the position espoused by T.J. Meek[140] to a growing recognition that the main pre-prophetic religion may receive more illumination from the general pattern of Mesopotamian religion in the second millenium[141] than from animistic remains or a rather hypothetical nomad culture.[142]

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[138] W.F. Albright, B.A.S.O.R., No. 163 (1961) pp. 48-9.

[139] J.J. Dougherty, C.B.Q., Vol. 17 (1955) pp. 146-156.

[140] T.J. Meek, Hebrew Origins, p. 84. "Man was religious long before he invented the art of writing, and so it is only in archaeological remains and in later survivals and reminiscences that he has left a record of his early religion. Of these two sources the latter is probably the most important... and it is in these that we must find the origin of the Hebrew God."

[141] S.H. Hooke, "Archaeology and the Old Testament" Record and Revelation (ed. H.W. Robinson). Oxford (1938) pp. 357f.

Early in the Neolithic period before the appearance of pottery, statues of deities in the triad of man, woman, and child appear in Jericho in a building which is quite certainly a temple.[143] At least three temples of the third millenium are known from Palestinian excavation.[144] Intricate design in religious imagery was discovered in Chalcolithic paintings at Teilelat Ghassul in the Jordan Valley, and the fourth and third millenia provide massive archaeological evidence for a highly developed cultus in Egypt, Mesopotamia and probably in Syria.[145] Archaeology, with its documentary and monumental evidence provides the scientific controls in the interpretation of the survival from the earlier religious forms.[146] For C.H. Gordon, historic monotheism fits into the general picture of the patriarchal period.[147] It was the internationalism of the Amarna Age which brought the monotheistic trends, which existed in all of the well-documented polytheistic cultures of the biblical world,[148] to fruition since the realization of the One God who rules the Universe must have come during the intermingling of people. Of this international period, the land of Canaan was the hub and consequently the "ideal cradle for the enduring monotheism."[149]

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[142] The concept that the background of Hebrew religion is to be found in old Arabia is not to be taken too seriously, according to W.F. Albright. J.B.L., Vol. 59 (1940) p. 91. See J.A. Montgomery, Arabia and the Bible, Philadelphia (1934) pp. 4f. C.B.Q., Vol. 17 (1955) p. 145, John J. Dougherty states, "...we are following more reliable directions when we place the emphasis in method on the culture of Mesopotamia and Canaan and attribute to the nomadic element a secondary role."

[143] J. Garstang, The Story of Jericho (1940) pp. 47ff.

[144] At Jericho (*circa*. 3000), Megiddo (*circa*. 3000) and Ai (*circa*. 2500 B.C.).

[145] G.E. Wright, B.A., Vol. X (1947) p. 19.

6. The Patriarchal Narratives

In the period between the two World Wars, the result of archaeological excavation clarified the millieu of the patriarchs during the second millenium. The Amorite or Proto-Aramean connections of the patriarchs in the Harran region were generally accepted.[150] Archaeological research had provided materials contemporary with the patriarchal period which made absolute skepticism toward the patriarchal narratives as historical records difficult to maintain.[151] The intimate relationships between Mesopotamia and the patriarchs could now clearly be seen. With the discovery that biblical traditions were surprisingly in agreement with the period they represented, an impressive group of scholars[152] began "to treat the narratives as essentially historical, at least in an ethnographic sense."[153]

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[146] John J. Dougherty, C.B.Q., Vol. 17 (1955) pp. 142-3.

[147] It must be remembered that Gordon places the patriarchs in the Amarna Age from fourteenth to thirteenth centuries.

[148] Melchisedek of Abraham's time was a devotee of the one "God of the Most High, Creator of Heaven and Earth." (Genesis 14: 18-19).

[149] C.H. Gordon, Encounter, Vol. 21 (1960) p. 145.

The supposition of a long period of oral transmission of the patriarchal traditions before their partial and then final writing, and the "improvements" by the later writers, had established the view that in spite of the fact that they probably contained a kernel of tradition, these stories could not be relied upon for factual knowledge. This opinion which was in vogue before World War I, archaeological discoveries have seriously altered.[154]

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[150] Frank M. Cross, Jr., B.A., Vol. X (1947) p. 48; Cf., Raymond A. Bowman, JNES, Vol. VII (1948) p. 68.

[151] Herbert G. May, J.B.L., Vol. 60 (1941) p. 113; Roger T. O'Callahan, C.B.Q., Vol. 6 (1944) p. 397.

[152] W. F. Albright, F.M. Th. Böhl, P. Dhorme, A. Jirku, T.J. Meek, T. Schmidtke, etc.

[153] Raymond A. Bowman, J.N.E.S., Vol. VII (1948) p. 67.

Vestiges of earlier thinking concerning the patriarchs continued into the period of our study. The patriarchal narratives were viewed as a body of tradition with a long history during which it gained certain elements and lost others which were considered non-essential at the time, and the importance of their study was not to be found in their historical value but in understanding what the Israelites who claimed them as forefathers wanted them and believed them to be.[155]

For others, the book of Genesis merely provides the background for the beginning of Israel's history in Exodus. Genesis is merely a meditation upon, or a philosophy of, history in which the story of Abraham is a recounting through largely legendary materials of her consciousness of election to a divine mission.[156]

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[154] G.E. Wright, B.A., Vol. X (1947) pp. 11-12.

[155] Otha L. Clark, J.B.R., Vol. 9 (1941) p. 97. "The dilemma of the historicity or the non-historicity of the patriarchs has held the attention of scholars too long. Insistence on the basic importance of the historicity of the individual fathers for a study of Hebrew religion is not entirely necessary."

[156] Robert C. Dentan, Interpretation, Vol. V (1951) pp. 163-5.

A clarification of the religion and literature of the Canaanites has prompted the assumption that much of the material in Genesis 1-11, the stories of creation, Paradise, the antediluvian patriarchs, the flood, and the tower of Babel, could only have reached Palestine with the patriarchs during the time from 2000 to 1500 B.C. Its presence in Israel in the ninth century without a trace of Canaanite mythology seems to have no other explanation.[157]

Archaeological discoveries have played a significant role in the clarification of seeming anachronisms in the early periods.[158] More than twenty references in Genesis make reference to the camel as generally domesticated.[159] Thus while the general picture of the patriarchal period had been shown by excavation to fit into the period and not into or after the period of the monarchy,[160] Abraham's camels seemed to stand out as an exception which was questioned by many scholars. Robert H. Pfeiffer referred to the assumption that camels had been used in Egypt in ancient times as one of "the most obvious errors."[161] However, Joseph P. Free has endeavored to show that archaeological evidence from Egypt in the form of figurines, statuettes, plaques bearing representations of camels, rock carvings and drawings, camel bones, a camel skull, and a camel-hair rope, all seem to indicate a knowledge of the camel in Egypt in every major period from predynastic times down to the Greco-Roman period when the camel was quite common.[162] But Professor Albright was unconvinced. Though camels were known and there may have been some sporadic domestication, camel caravans or raiding expeditions are not known before the twelfth century BC following the gradual domestication of the camel in Eastern Arabia during the middle of the second millenium.[163] W.G. Lambert was able to show that the ideogram in the Alalakh tablets of the seventeenth century B.C. means "stag" rather than "camel." He proved, however, that the camel was known before the middle of the second millenium under the Sumerian name "Ass of the Sea" presumably referring to the Arabian shores of the Persian Gulf.[164]

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[157] G.E. Wright, B.A., Vol. 6 (1943) p. 20. Cf., E.A. Speiser, "The Biblical Idea of History in its Common Near Eastern Setting," I.E.J., Vol. 7 (1957) p. 216, "...certain significant elements in that tradition have to be traced back to the period of the patriarchs. If this were not so, the patriarchal narratives could not have been recorded with such startling accuracy, although the writers lacked full knowledge of their social implications."

[158] Otha L. Clark, J.B.R., Vol. 9 (1941) p. 96.

[159] There are seventeen references in Genesis 24. Other references are found in Genesis 12:16; 30:43; 31:17; 34; 32:7,15, and 37:25.

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[160] W.F. Albright has concluded that the record of the Patriarchs is "essentially historical." The Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible, p. 145. Cyrus H. Gordon, B.A., Vol.III (1940) p. 9. The Nuzi tablets indicate that the patriarchal picture has "come down to us authentically." Millar Burrows, in What Mean These Stones? (1941) p. 71, states, "The circumstances reflected in the story of Abraham, therefore, are true to the conditions of the twentieth and parhaps the nineteenth centuries B.C."

[161] R.H. Pfeiffer, Introduction to the Old Testament, (1941) p. 154.

[162] Joseph P. Free, J.N.E.S., Vol. III (1944) pp. 187-193.

Similarly, reputable scholars have maintained that references to the Philistines in the patriarchal narratives are anachronistic.[165] Gordon, who maintains that the patriarchial narratives are rooted in the Amarna Age,[166] holds that the Philistines (Qua Caphtorians)[167] were established in Palestine from pre-patriarchal times and were a peaceful folk living in the area of Gerar and Beersheba.[168] This was an earlier migration of peoples, not to be confused with a later invasion of "more definitely Greek and warlike Philistines" who centered in a pentapolis during the time of Ramses III.[169]

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[163] W.F. Albright, B.A.S.O.R., No. 163 (1961) pp. 41f.

[164] B.A.S.O.R., No. 160 (1960) pp. 42f.

[165] For an article within the period of our study reflecting "higher critical" thinking, note Otha L. Clark, J.B.R., Vol. 9 (1941) pp. 94-7. M. Burrows, B.A., Vol. III (1940) p. 16. "The king of Gerar in the time of Abraham and Isaac could not have been a Philistine."

[166] Since the social institutions reflected in the patriarchal narratives have their most intimate connections with the legal contracts from Nuzu, and since the content of the narratives is comparable to the age of Ugaritic literature, Gordon suggests that the Nuzu and Ugaritic tablets and the patriarchal narratives are all products of the Amarna Age. Cf. "The Patriarchal Narratives," J.N.E.S., Vol. 13 (1954) pp. 56-59.

Until recently most commentators have assumed that the references to Hittites in the patriarchal narratives which were assigned to "P" could not signify ethnic Hittites any more than the other Pentateuchal passages. The Hittites therefore became, as they suggested, merely the "P" stratum's equivalent to "J's" Canaanites and "E's" Amorites for denoting all the previous inhabitants of Palestine.[170] Such a view obviously required revision after Lehman had shown that the transaction between Ephron the Hittite and Abraham concerning the Cave of Machpelah was in keeping with Hittite real estate practice,[171] and C.H. Gordon had suggested that the Hittites were bands of merchants exploiting the unopened market of Hebron in the central Palestinian hills.[172] After admitting the possibility that a group of Hittites (merchants or otherwise) might have been swept southward in the ethnic movements of the first half of the second millenium, which took Hurrians into Mesopotamia and Syria and the Hyksos into Egypt,[173] and admitting that peoples whom the scholars had restricted to one area have before this shown a remarkable faculty for turning up elsewhere with the discovery of new deposits of texts, John C.L. Gibson reverts to a safe critical stance by saying that "in the present state of our knowledge, it may be wiser to continue to explain the Hittites simply as "J's" general ethnic term corresponding to the Canaanites and Amorites of the other two Pentateuchal strata."[174]

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[167] "Philistine" overlaps and even interchanges with "Cretan" (Ezekiel 25:16) or Caphtorian (Deut. 2:23; Amos 9:7, etc.)

[168] C.H. Gordon, H.U.C.A., Vol. XXVI (1955) p. 51, "The establishment of the Philistines ... in Palestine since pre-Patriarchal times is indicated by all the pertinent evidence has still not eradicated the fallacious hypercritical view.

[169] C.H. Gordon, H.U.C.A., Vol. XXVI (1955) p. 48; Cf., Encounter, Vol. 21 (1960) pp. 150f.

[170] J. Skinner, Genesis, (International Critical Commentary) p. 336; Martin Noth, The Old Testament World, p. 77.

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[171] M.R. Lehman, B.A.S.O.R., No. 129 (1953) pp. 15-18. With the destruction of Hattusas (circa. 1200 B.C.) the Hittite legal system passed into oblivion and was not known in post-Settlement Israel.

[172] C.H. Gordon, Encounter, Vol. 21 (1960) p. 148. "The ancient empires had interpenetrating spheres of influence. Thus the Hittites as well as Egyptians had enclaves in Canaan simultaneously to look after their respective imperial interests. Such empires were largely commercial in character." Cf., p. 143 In a number of tablets from Ugarit sent to the King of Ugarit from Hattusilis III of the Hittites, the monarch regulates the activities of his merchants from Ur, in the Hittite territory, who, under his sponsorship and protection have gone to Canaan to conduct their business.

[173] This would accord with linking the Patriarchs to the period of the Mari letters. The interest of the Hittites outside the borders of their kingdom in Asia Minor is clear from a reference in the Alalakh texts to a Hittite king warring against Aleppo. This has significance for the early dating of the tradition in Genesis 14, since Tidal, the name of one of the four kings from the north, is equivalent to Tudhulia, a common name of Hittite kings.

Edward J. Young claims archaeological excavation has forced the revision of the opinion that the messages of Genesis are spiritual and are likely to be misunderstood if taken as history. He maintains that "archaeology has made it clear that we are to treat the so-called details of the Bible with utmost seriousness" and that today no serious student can deny "the accuracy of the historical background" of Genesis.[175] The seeming anachronism of 'Ephron the Hittite' is solved not only by the Assyrian inscriptions reference to Palestine as Hatti land, i.e., land of the Hittites, but by references in the Alalakh letters to "Hittites" in Syria during the time of Abraham. Young therefore assumes that the

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[174] John C.L. Gibson, J.N.E.S., Vol. 20 (1961) pp. 225-7.

[175] Edward J. Young, B. Sacra, Vol. 122 (1965) p. 17.

Hittites could also have been in Palestine, specifically at Hebron, or Mamre.[176] For William F. Albright, the accounts of the Patriarchs go back largely to early narrative poems which were transmitted orally into Israelite times and then written down in shortened prose paraphrases of the poetic originals.[177]

Robert C. Dentan views the stories of the book of Genesis, not as history, but as an artistic unity of mainly legendary materials from many different ages composed by a "profound and sophisticated intelligence" in a late period of Israel's development. For him it is an attempt at setting forth Israel's special history in relation to the whole problem of God's dealings with mankind.[178] For James Muilenberg, too, Genesis is a history of another kind. For him, the whole literary manner and setting resists the idea of a history in the literal sense of referring to actual historical individuals.[179] For Merrill F. Unger, the striking resemblance of the social and legal customs of the Nuzu letters point to historical and not a legendary milieu for the stories of the patriarchs.[180] Archaeology has counteracted the higher critical tendency to relegate the age of Abraham and even Moses to the realm of myth and legend.[181]

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[176] Genesis 23:10; 25:9. Ibid., p. 18. "In the light of these texts at Alalakh as well as those from Mari, Nuzu, and elsewhere, it is clear that the background of the patriarchs depicted in the Book of Genesis is one that is remarkably accurate and historical."

[177] W.F. Albright, Religion in Life, Vol. 21 (1952) p. 542. "In no case are these Patriarchal stories mere reflections of the life of Israel in the Divided Monarchy, as used to be held by most literary critics; they actually go back almost a thousand years to the Middle Bronze Age."

[178] Robert C. Dentan, Interpretation, Vol. V (1951) p. 164.

Since the Hittite laws fell into oblivion with the final destruction of the capital of Hattusas about 1200 B.C., the fact that Genesis is permeated with an intimate knowledge of the intricate subtleties of Hittite laws and customs would seem to preclude the probability of a late date for its composition.[182] The authenticity of local color and detail would be perfectly natural and what one would expect, according to Merrill F. Unger, if the narratives were accepted as "authentic documents written in the Mosaic age, i.e., fifteenth century B.C."[183] He maintains further that only the "artificial theories of literary composition" of the critics who contend these documents were first reduced to writing during the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. make the accurate reflections of the social conditions of the patriarchal age seem "striking."[184]

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[179] James Muilenberg, J.B.L., Vol. 75 (1956) p. 198. "While it is true that our estimate of the worth of Genesis has grown substantially in recent years, even the most staunch defender of the 'credibility' of Genesis would hardly assert that this is history in the literal sense..."

[180] Merrill F. Unger, Bibliotheca Sacra, Vol. 105 (1948) pp. 302-3.

[181] Unger claimed "...the science of the past is acting as a purge and a corrective upon radical die-hard views aimed against the credibility and early date of the Pentateuch."

[182] Manfred R. Lehman, B.A.S.O.R., No. 129 (1953) p. 18.

With the recovery of the Ugaritic epics, thousands of lines of Canaanite verse with close stylistic, grammatical and verbal parallels to the Hebrew poetry of the Bible became available for comparison.[185] While the earliest poetry of the Bible abounds with verse forms characteristic of the Canaanite poems of Ugarit, parallels are also found in later biblical verse, though in a diminishing degree,[186] until they are scarcely found at all in our latest biblical poetry.

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[183] Merrill F. Unger, Bibliotheca Sacra, Vol. 110 (1953) p. 302.

[184] H.H. Rowley, J.J.R.L., Vol. 32 (1949) p. 76. Concerning the patriarchal stories, Rowley states, "Their accurate reflection of social conditions in the patriarchal age and in some parts of the Mesopotamia from which the patriarchs are said to have come, many centuries before the present documents were composed, is striking."

[185] W.F. Albright, Religion in Life, Vol. 21 (1952) pp. 541-5.

Cyrus H. Gordon enjoys a distinct advantage concerning the narratives of the Patriarchs by placing Abraham and the rest within the Amarna Period. While oral composition and transmission of the Genesis narratives is a possibility, it is his feeling, in view of the royal epics from Ugarit that the Hebrews also had their royal epic in written form during the second millenium and that a book like Genesis may well have been written in its original form shortly after the event.[187] Dictionaries in four languages,[188] recovered at Ugarit, point to a "sophisticated internationalism" out of which the patriarchal narratives could have come.[189]

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[186] No fewer than forty pairs of parallel synonyms have been documented from biblical and Canaanite verse with all eighty words the same. Ibid., p. 543 - "It is remarkable how many apparent anomalies in early Hebrew verse, which have been explained away or emended by scholars turn out to be accurate reflections of Canaanite grammatical peculiarities which were forgotten long before the time of the Masoretes, who vocalized the consonantal Hebrew text of the Bible in the seventh to ninth centuries A.D."

[187] C.H. Gordon, Encounter, Vol. 21 (1960) p. 144. "The unbroken continuity of the Hebrew tradition since the second millenium -- perhaps as early as the Amarna Age -- was made technically possible by the ABC (alphabet)."

[188] Vocabularies in Babylonian, Sumerian, Hurrian and Ugaritic suggest the scripts and languages used by the scribes of an international age.

[189] Ibid., p. 145.

The extensive epigraphical evidence from excavations in Mesopotamia and Syria has affected significantly the views generally expressed by biblical scholars concerning the patriarchal period and its personalities. With few exceptions, the patriarchs are no longer viewed as eponyms but rather as historical persons connected with the Amorite, or proto-Aramaean migration during the early part of the second millenium B.C. Often represented twenty-five years ago as shepherd nomads, or semi-nomads, the patriarchs are more often described recently as merchants, alien residents, engaged in trade and possibly an integral part of the extensive donkey caravan trade which flourished between Egypt and Babylonia. It would seem clear now, too, that a relationship existed between the Amorite migration generally and the patriarchs specifically and the Ḥabiru, whose illusive identity claimed such comprehensive discussion during the last twenty-five years.

If the patriarchs (Abraham especially) were associated with the caravan trade which developed the extensive Middle Bronze I routes and settlements throughout Transjordan, the Negeb and Sinai Peninsula, then clearly this commercial system was established before the destruction of these settlements circa. 1900 B.C. and the patriarchs must be dated at the beginning of the second millenium B.C. The tendency with most scholars has been to recognize this general era as patriarchal, though few, with Professor C.H. Gordon, would place the patriarchs during the Amarna Age.

Illustrative information for the social institutions depicted of the patriarchal period in the biblical narrative has come from Nuzu and Alalakh. The Ras Shamra tablets and archaeological excavations in Palestine clarified the true nature of Canaanite religion as pure polytheism, while the patriarchal religion received illumination from the general pattern of Mesopotamian ritual and practice. The limited value of appealing to animistic parallels from other primitive cultures was clear.

With the recognition that the patriarchal narratives were in surprising agreement with the period they claimed to represent, some scholars began to treat them as essentially historical. Others, while questioning whether its narratives could be classified as history in the literal sense, were willing to admit that the estimate of the worth of Genesis had grown substantially. That the attitudes toward and the interpretation of the patriarchal narratives have changed is clear. And that archaeological evidence, though mainly epigraphical from outside Palestine, has played a chief role cannot be denied.

VII. THE ISRAELITE EXODUS FROM EGYPT AND CONQUEST OF PALESTINE

1. The Exodus from Egypt

Among the ruins of a place known as el-'Amarna, 190 miles south of Cairo, cuneiform letters were found[1] and later published[2] which reveal a part of the diplomatic correspondence of the Egyptian kings Amenophis III and Amenophis IV (Akhenaten) with other kings and with Egyptian vassals and officials concentrated in Palestine and Syria. This correspondence illumined the mid-fourteenth century B.C. -- a period of international diplomacy,[3] when the power of Egypt was rapidly declining in

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[1] First discovered by a bedouin woman, the "pillow-shaped" tablets were collected by the local residents and sold to local dealers. When the scholars resident in Cairo failed to recognize their value, the tablets were transported on mule-back to Luxor where during the winter and spring of 1888 representatives of Berlin, British, and Bulaq Museums purchased the tablets. In later excavations, Sir Flinders Petrie recovered an additional twenty-two fragments which are now in the Oxford Museum.

[2] J.A. Knudtzon, a Danish scholar, copied a total of 358 items and published them between 1907 and 1915 (Die El-Amarna-Tafeln). An English publication, without the extensive notes of the Knudtzon volume was prepared by S.A.B. Mercer, The Tell el-Amarna Tablets (Toronto, 1939).

[3] Five major nations were in a struggle for power and prestige: The Hittite Kingdom, the Hurrian Kingdom of Mitanni, Assyria, Babylonia, and Egypt.

Palestine and Syria.[4] References to the 'Apiru (Ḫabiru) in the Egyptian documents not only identified them as the instigators of the disorders in the Egyptian provinces, but seemed to argue for the presence of the children of Israel in Egypt.[5] Because of the extra-ordinary resemblance between the role of the 'Apiru and that of the Hebrews in early biblical sources, Professor W.F. Albright, after two decades of "cautious neutrality," identified the 'Apiru with the Hebrews.[6] However, it was recognized that by the time of the conquest, the 'Apiru had become an indigenous element within Palestine and could not be identified with the invading Israelites.[7] Yet, just as the Gibeonite tetrapolis joined the Israelite confederation, so other towns (e.g., Shechem, Tirzah, Hepher, Zaphon, etc.) and pre-Israelite groups of people in the country, i.e., the 'Apiru, were amalgamated into the incoming tribes of Israel.[8]

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[4] Edward F. Campbell, Jr., B.A., Vol. 23 (1960) pp. 2-9.

[5] T.J. Meek, Hebrew Origins, p. 11. The duration of the stay in Egypt, according to Professor Meek was from circa. 1375 to circa. 1200 B.C.

[6] W.F. Albright, B.A.S.O.R., No. 125 (1952) pp. 32f.

[7] E.F. Campbell, Jr., B.A., Vol. 23 (1960) pp. 10, 15.

[8] W.F. Albright, op. cit., p. 31; CF., G.E. Mendenhall, B.A., Vol. 17 (1954) p. 62; W.F. Albright, B.A.S.O.R., No. 89 (1943) pp. 16-17.

It was during this period when Egypt was unable to adequately provide military force to ensure tranquility for its city states in Palestine, that the Hebrews under the leadership of Moses began their lengthy sojourn through the wilderness of Sinai and the Negeb.[9] According to the biblical records, Moses forged them into a national and religious unity which ultimately entered Palestine across the Jordan River and under the subsequent leadership of Joshua conquered much of the central hill country before gradually extending their territorial boundaries.[10]

Archaeological evidence seemed to indicate the presence of Northwest Semitic captives under Egyptian sponsorship in the Sinai. While clearing the ruins of the temple of Ḥathor at Serabîṭ el-Khadêm in the Sinai Peninsula in 1905, Sir Flinders Petrie uncovered a number of inscriptions of Proto-Sinaitic script.[11] Following an investigation of the evidence at the site in 1948, Professor W.F. Albright presented a new decipherment and translation.[12] His interpretation was of considerable importance for the understanding of Israelite origins. Written in a normal alphabetic Canaanite[13] from the early fifteenth century B.C., the inscriptions showed that the residents of the area seemed to have been miners, Northwest Semitic captives or slaves from Egypt, of mixed origin, who may have represented a cross-section of the Semitic population of the north-eastern delta a century and a half or two before the Exodus.[14]

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[9] Robert C. Dentan, Interpretation, Vol. 5 (1951) p. 165. "Since the story as it has come down to us is obviously encrusted with legend ... scholars have frequently maintained that in its entirety it is simply the product of a creative imagination. ...Whether the Exodus ever happened or not, it cannot be doubted that, at least in its present form, the whole of the Old Testament is an expression of the conviction that God did deliver his people out of the house of bondage..."

[10] G.E. Wright, B.A., Vol. 3 (1940) p. 32.

[11] Frederick L. Moriarty, C.B.Q., Vol. 13 (1951) pp. 135-145.

Egyptian sources provide little for establishing the date of the Exodus which may be correlated with the Israelite conquest of Canaan.[15] Since the relevant archaeological evidence available from Transjordan and the sites conquered in

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[12] W.F. Albright, B.A.S.O.R., No. 110 (1948) pp. 6-22.

[13] Professor Albright viewed the language as a vulgar Canaanite with dialectal peculiarities which distinguished it slightly from contemporary Byblian, but paralleled the Amarna tablets from Palestine and Ugarit. Cf., C.H. Gordon, Encounter, Vol. 21 (1960) p. 148. It is most important to note that the patriarchs had adopted the language of the land of Canaan, and spoke of their language not as "Hebrew" but the "Speech of Canaan."

[14] Ibid., p. 22.

[15] William S. Smith, J.B.R., Vol. 19 (1951) pp. 12-15. According to the biblical tradition, forty years passed between the Exodus from Egypt and the entrance into Canaan.

Palestine will be discussed later, only a limited note here will suffice. Three major theories have been suggested in the past.[16]

1) The Exodus was the Hebrew echo of the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt, circa. 1550 B.C.

2) The Exodus occurred during the 18th Dynasty, circa. 1440 B.C.[17]

3) It took place during the reign of Merneptah in the 19th Dynasty, circa. 1230 B.C.[18]

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[16] G.E. Wright, B.A., Vol. 10 (1947) pp. 13-14. Professor Wright viewed all three theories inadequate.

[17] M.F. Unger, Bibliotheca Sacra, Vol. 105 (1948) pp. 299f. According to Professor Unger, Amenhotep II must be identified as the Pharaoh of the Exodus (1441 B.C.), in agreement with Garstang's excavations at Jericho and the equation of the invasion of the Ḥabiru of the Amarna letters with the conquest by Joshua. Glueck's surveys in Transjordan and the excavations at Lachish and Debir were viewed as "uncertain archaeological data." Cf., Ralph M. Earle, Jr., Asbury Seminarian, Vol. 1 (1946) pp. 103f., "...the fifteenth century date seems to accord best with the Biblical data. ...there is no valid reason for rejecting the Biblical dating, which is reached by moving back from established dates." (See also, M.F. Unger, B. Sacra, Vol. 110 (1953) p. 124, where the 1441 B.C. is still held.)

[18] J. Bright, Interpretation, Vol. 2 (1948) pp. 331f. Glueck's explorations are viewed as providing powerful evidence for a 13th century date for the Exodus. Also E.E. Flack, Interpretation, Vol. 3 (1948) p. 88 (However, in Interpretation, Vol. 13 (1959) p. 14, Flack continued to list Garstang's Jericho evidence for a possible 1440 B.C. date.)

A later view pointed to the Hebrew construction of Pithom and Raamses during the Nineteenth Dynasty[19] and the destruction of Bethel, Lachish and Debir about the middle and third quarter of the thirteenth century as possible evidence that the Exodus occurred in the early part of the reign of Rameses II (1301-1234 B.C.)[20]

2. Moses and the Wilderness Sojourn

Though there is very little agreement about the nature of Moses and the specific role he played,[21] it would seem from their Egyptian names that Moses and the leaders of the Hebrew people had been comparatively assimilated into Egyptian culture.[22] He seemingly had been a "cosmopolite to Tanis," a thriving international capital city.[23] Though contemporary references to him are lacking, his historicity is no longer doubted. Moses is viewed as the unifier and lawgiver of Israel.[24] Archaeological discoveries and historical research have clarified the tradition of Israel's stay in Egypt,[25] the conquest of Canaan, the tribal organization of early Israel, the antiquity of apodictic legislation, and the unique character of the Mosaic teaching.[26] Numerous affinities between Hebrew legislation and ancient law codes discovered during the twentieth century have forced the origin of Hebrew law back to the Mosaic period.[27]

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[19] There is no archaeological evidence for construction in the Delta during the Eighteenth century.

[20] G.E. Wright, op. cit., p. 14. Wright held the view originally presented by Professor Albright.

[21] T.J. Meek, Review of Religion, Vol. 4 (1940) pp. 299-303. In arguing against the possibility of Moses' being a monotheist, (as viewed by Albright), Professor Meek listed Ikhnaton of Egypt as the only real monotheist (which was questioned by others) and found it "one of the enigmas of history that the Hebrews were so little affected by the culture of Egypt, when both history and archaeology show such intimate contacts between the two." Compare W.G. Williams, The Iliff Review, Vol. 2 (1945) p. 173, "...It has been suggested that Hebrew montheism roots back into the great religious reform of Ikhnaton, but it is doubtful if Egypt ever progressed beyond the stage of monolatry, and it is certain that in the period when Egypt's influence could be presumed to be the strongest, at the time of Moses, the Hebrews were henotheists... The Hebrew of the eighth century was the first to assert a belief in one God (p. 175)."

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[22] There are a number of examples of Egyptian personal names in the Israelite genealogies (e.g., Moses, Assir, Pashhur, Hophni, Phinehas, and Merari).

[23] F.M. Cross, Jr., B.A., Vol. 10 (1947) p. 49.

[24] Ibid., pp. 54f.

[25] T.J. Meek, J.B.L., Vol. 61 (1942) pp. 36. Meek placed Moses in the southern Negeb where he consolidated a number of wandering tribes into a religious and political confederacy toward the end of the second millenium B.C. For Meek, Sinai was located in the neighborhood of Kadesh. When criticized by G.E. Wright for not associating the Joseph tribes with Egypt (B.A., Vol. 3 (1940) p. 38), Meek claimed they were associated with Egypt through the Hyksos. See Journal of Religion, Vol. 21 (1941) p. 405. Meek rejected Albright's view that the Hebrews were a unit from the time of their entrance into Egypt until the succession of Israel from Judah as "a strange mixture of modern critical opinion and old-time orthodoxy" which had long since been discarded by critical opinion. (p. 35).

Rather than the earlier view which conceived of Israelite origins as the product of very gradual growth, the religious federation which existed during the period of the Judges could best be understood and explained as a conscious continuation or re-adaptation of a covenant relationship of newly delivered slaves at Sinai.[28] At least it seemed logical that the basic Code of Israel's laws was established during the time when

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[26] E.E. Flack, Interpretation, Vol. 13 (1959) pp. 15-16; J. Philip Hyatt, Encounter, Vol. 26 (1965) p. 206. "We believe it is entirely possible that the ethical decalogue,...was the original 'Mosaic law'. ...it shows the work of an imaginative and spiritually sensitive leader such as Moses must have been."

[27] For example, the Code of Hammurabi (ca. 1700 B.C.), discovered in 1901-2 by a French expedition; the Hittite Code (ca. 1300 B.C.), discovered 1906-7 by Winkler at Boghazköi and deciphered in 1915; The Middle Assyrian Code (ca. 1100 B.C.) in 1920-37; the Lipit-Ishtar Code (ca. 1860 B.C.) in 1947; the Eshnunna Code (ca. 1930 B.C.) in 1948; and the Code of Ur-Nammu (ca. 2050 B.C.), published by Kramer in 1953. Note, E.E. Flack, Interpretation, Vol. 3 (1949) pp. 87-90; Roger T. O'Callaghan, C.B.Q., Vol. 6 (1944) pp. 393f.

[28] George E. Mendenhall, B.A., Vol. 17 (1954) p. 28.

Israel's national life was still fluid.[29] The text of the covenant which was the formal means of binding the semi-nomadic clans into a religious and political community was the Decalogue, the form of which has been preserved in extra-biblical sources. The "Covenant Code" of Exodus 21-23 contained a mixture of case law and apodictic law very similar to the stipulations found in the Hittite covenants. Even as the patriarchal narratives contained references to legal customs clarified by legal documents from Mesopotamia, a pre-existent knowledge of a literary legal form was recognized to underlie the Covenant Code.

Following the formation of the covenant amphictyony under Moses,[31] institutions were established through which the traditions could be perpetuated. Together with the central institution, the Tent of Assembly for religious and political gatherings, the Aaronic priesthood and a sacrificial service were instituted.[32] The central sanctuary, or tent-shrine, served as a symbol of the people's common allegiance to the same deity. Early evidence for the custom of tent-shrines have come from fragments of the Phoenician history of Sanchuniathon (circa. 7th century B.C.) in reference to a portable shrine drawn by oxen.[33] Within the tent was the ark, the throne of the invisible God and Witness of the covenant, which was instituted by Moses, together with the aniconic tradition of Israel.[34] The significant failure of archaeologists to recover a single image of Yahweh in levels of Israelite occupation in Palestinian sites would seem to suggest that his tradition was firmly implanted and rigidly maintained.[35] Increasingly scholars were disposed to accepting the substantial reliability of the persistent tradition of Moses as the lawgiver. From the shadowy, wonder-worker, magician-priest who introduced some tribes to a hard-to-define religion in the desert, he had been restored to his traditional role as the great founder of Israel's faith, and the change was viewed as a by-product of the reaction which had significantly been fostered by the advance of archaeology and allied sciences against the criticism of Wellhausen.[36] That law had been an early and significant aspect of Hebrew culture had been attested by ancient Near Eastern parallels.[37]

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[29] Lester J. Kuyper, Interpretation, Vol. 6 (1952) p. 324.

[30] G.E. Mendenhall, op. cit., pp. 30, 35f.

[31] G.E. Wright, B.A., Vol. 6 (1943) p. 18; The covenant is basic to the Israelite idea of society.

[32] F.M. Cross, Jr., B.A., Vol. 10 (1947) pp. 54f.

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[33] J. Morgenstern, H.U.C.A., Vol. 17 (1943) pp. 153-265; Vol. 18 (1944) pp. 1-52. Evidence of Phoenician tent-shrines also comes from Diodorus, who tells of a tent of a sacred nature pitched in the center of a Carthaginian battle camp. Cf., F.M. Cross, Jr., B.A., Vol. 10 (1947) pp. 60f.; M.F. Unger, B. Sacra, Vol. 111 (1954) p. 21.

[34] F. M. Cross, Jr., B.A., Vol. 10 (1947) p. 55.

[35] J. Bright, Interpretation, Vol. 1 (1947) pp. 158f.

But what was the relation of Moses to the God, Yahweh, in whose name the covenant had been established? Was Yahweh merely exalted above the other tribal gods as the confederate God of the amphictyony and was this a henotheistic stage of development in the infant nation's religious growth?[38] Had Moses discovered Yahweh as the object of the Midians' worship, the god of Jethro's people,[39] or is that "...a ludicrous misconception"?[40] Professor H.H. Rowley suggested that the ancient Decalogue of the Kenites had been taken over by the Southern Israelite tribes even as they had taken over their religion.[41]

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[36] E.E. Flack, Interpretation, Vol. 3 (1949) p. 87; J. Bright, Interpretation, Vol. 1 (1947) pp. 156-8.

[37] B.D. Napier, Interpretation, Vol. 7 (1953) p. 405.

[38] T.J. Meek, Review of Religion, Vol. 4 (1940) pp. 299-303.

[39] J. Gray, J.N.E.S., Vol. 12 (1953) pp. 279f.; E.E. Flack, Interpretation, Vol. 3 (1949) p. 86; Cf., James D. Smart, Journal of Religion, Vol. 23, (1943) p. 126.

[40] W.J. Phythian-Adams, Interpretation, Vol.1 (1947) p. 422.

[41] H.H. Rowley, B.J.R.L., Vol. 34 (1951-52) p. 99. Compare M. Burrows, J.B.R., Vol. 9 (1941) pp. 10-16. Though subjected to criticism, especially by Professor Meek (Hebrew Origins, (1936) pp. 86ff.), the Kenite hypothesis seemed distinctly probable to Professor Burrows.

The evidence of the Near Eastern onomastica in the Second Millenium B.C. seemed to confirm W.F. Albright's conclusion that a litany describing the covenant God in a series of affirmations began with the word Yahweh, a verb which was part of a long expression which eventually was abbreviated and became the "name" of God.[42]

3. The Problem of the Census

Between the "literalists" and the "critics", who viewed the narratives without an historical foundation, some scholars sought for some clue to a more satisfactory method of calculation for solving the problem of how to account for the statistics of the census before and after the wilderness wanderings which seemed to suggest a number of people impossible to maintain in the Sinai Peninsula.[43] Census lists found in Ugarit, Mari, and Alalakh, now throw light on these incidents in Israel's early history.[44] Professor George E. Mendenhall, who with Speiser, de Vaux, Albright, O'Callaghan, and others was convinced of the historical basis of the patriarchal narratives, felt it was necessary to re-evaluate the whole of Israelite historical tradition. Everywhere the census lists served two main functions; the basis upon which taxes were levied and collected, and a register of men subject to military duty (or corvée).[45] Israel's situation therefore suggested that the reason for the census was to number potential soldiers. As at Mari, registrations in Numbers 1 and 26 were not calls-to-duty, but bases for mobilization when the need occurred. Thus the Hebrew 'elef originally referred to a subsection of a tribe (a contingent of troops under its own leader comparable to the picture seen in the Iliad) and did not mean "thousand" until the United Kingdom when a thousand men were under the command of an officer appointed by the king. The details of organization, the size of the units and the total size of the army, according to Professor Mendenhall, are then in harmony with what we know of military and social organization of the Middle Bronze and Late Bronze Ages.[46]

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[42] W.F. Albright, J.B.L., Vol. 67 (1948) pp. 371-2; Cf., David N. Freedman, J.B.L., Vol. 79 (1960) p. 152.

[43] E.E. Flack, Interpretation, Vol. 13 (1959) pp. 13f; Cf., W.F. Albright, J.P.O.S., Vol. 5 (1925) pp. 20-25; A. Lucas, P.E.Q., (1944) pp. 164-168.

[44] E.A. Speiser, "The Alalakh Tablets", J.A.O.S., Vol. 74 (1954) pp. 18-25.

4. Penetration into Canaan from the South

Because of the seeming incompatibility of biblical and the archaeological evidence of the early 1940's, biblical

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[45] G.E. Mendenhall, J.B.L., Vol. 77 (1958) p. 54; Cf., W. Harrelson, Interpretation, Vol. 13 (1959) pp. 28-30.

[46] G.E. Mendenhall, op. cit., p. 66.

scholars felt obliged to reconstruct the story of the conquest and settlement in conformity with all of the information that was available at the time. With the general equation of the Ḥabirû and the Hebrews, the references in the el-Amarna letters to disruption of Egypt's city-status in Palestine, and the destruction of Jericho, then dated circa. 1400 B.C. required the presence of some of the Hebrews in the hill country. Thus Professor H.H. Rowley suggested that tribes which had been associated with the Kenites and other elements pressed northward. While Judah, Simeon and Levi were establishing themselves in the central hill country, 'Leah-tribes' and more distantly related 'Concubine-tribes' were gaining a foothold in other parts of the country.[47] At the same time, during the reign of of Akhnaton, a segment of the Judah-Simeon-Levi group moved to Egypt where one of their number attained prominence.[48]

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[47] J.N.E.S., Vol. 3 (1944) pp. 74-5. Professor Rowley explained the movement from north to south of the conquest by Judah and Simeon after the death of Joshua, in the biblical record, as an attempt at harmonizing in keeping with the accepted view. According to Professor Rowley, a part of the south to north campaign may be seen in the picture of Hormah before the time of Joshua. With this Amarna Age wave, the tribes of Gad and Rueben begin to settle in the Transjordan, Cf., T.J. Meek, B.A.S.O.R., No. 61 (1936) 17f.; Hebrew Origins, p. 23.

[48] J.N.E.S., Vol. 3 (1944) p. 76.

Four generations later, in the reign of Merneptah, the group which had moved to Egypt, under the leadership of Moses, who had Kenite relations on his mother's side, left Egypt and was finally led into the central part of the country under Joshua, where together with Levite elements they comprised the Joseph tribes. Moses, who had received the concept that Yahweh was God from the Kenites introduced Him to the 'Rachel-tribes' "...in the dramatic experience of the covenant of Sinai."[49] On the other hand, the Judah tribes acquired their Yahwism through the elements of the Kenites which had accompanied them into Canaan during the Amarna Age.[50]

When the Simeonite and Levite elements moving northward were involved in treachery and suffered a serious disaster at Shechem, Simeon was unable to recover and was finally absorbed into Judah. The Levites, while maintaining their identity, were dispersed without territory, with some of them joining their brethren in Egypt.[51]

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[49] Ibid., p. 77.

[50] According to Professor Rowley, this explains why the Judah traditions represent the beginning of Yahwism as going back to the beginning of time, while the Ephraimite traditions view the beginning of Yahwism as beginning at that particular point of history in the wilderness.

[51] H.H. Rowley, B.A.S.O.R., No. 85 (1942) pp. 28f. This explains the four generation tradition in the Bible. The Exodus came about a century and a half after the descent of the 'Rachel-tribes' into Egypt.

The basic details of this reconstruction were included here to illustrate the elaborate formulations by recognized scholars which came from a desire to correlate biblical and extra-biblical data into a consistent whole.

5. Transjordan and the Conquest

The archaeological surveys of Professor Nelson Glueck have been a significant factor in the dating of the Exodus and Conquest. During his discovery and mapping of hundreds of sites in Transjordan, he did not find remains of any sizeable town that had been in existence in Ammon, Moab or Edom between the twentieth and thirteenth centuries B.C.[52] It was therefore clear that the Biblical description of settled kingdoms and cities during the time of the Israelites' passage could not have been realized before *circa*. 1300 B.C.[53] This information together with archaeological evidence concerning the conquest of cities in the Judean hill country seemed to suggest that the Israelite invaded Eastern Palestine about the middle of the thirteenth century B.C.[54]

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[52] N. Glueck, *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 91 (1943) p. 12.

[53] G.E. Wright, *B.A.*, Vol. 3 (1940) p. 37; N. Glueck, *The Other Side of the Jordan* (1940) pp. 125ff; *H.U.C.A.*, Vol. 32 (1961) pp. 13f.

[54] W.F. Albright, *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 89 (1943) p. 12.

While information concerning the archaeological remains of Transjordan had been largely limited to the work of Professor Glueck, the study of epigraphical material discovered earlier was contributing further to the confinement of the period of the conquest. The Balû'ah Stele, from about the twelfth century B.C. indicated that already then there was a well organized monarchy in Moab.[55] It was only during the thirteenth century that the Egyptian texts begin to refer to these regions.[56] The earlier silence may have been due to the nomadic nature of the area's population at that time. Studies in other areas seemed to fit into the general picture. The archaeological survey of the es-Salṭ region by Pére de Vaux and Pére Benoit, the excavations by Professor W.F. Albright at Ader and the unusual silence of the Amarna texts and the Egyptian lists of conquered cities, or of actual, or potential, enemies, suggested that there had been a significant if not a total decline of sedentary occupation in the hill country of Transjordan.[57] The excavations at Dhībân presented similar evidence.[58]

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[55] Idem., J.B.L., Vol. 63 (1944) p. 227.

[56] Ibid., pp. 228f; G.E. Wright, B.A., Vol. 10 (1947) p. 14.

[57] Nelson Glueck, B.A.S.O.R. No. 122 (1951) p. 17.

[58] F.V. Winnett, B.A.S.O.R., No. 125 (1952) p. 20; G.E. Wright, B.A., Vol. 22 (1959) p. 99.

However, in the fourteenth or early thirteenth centuries B.C. a new agricultural civilization belonging to the Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites and Amorites appeared in Transjordan.[59] With the Edomite and Moabite kingdoms strongly entrenched during the second half of the thirteenth century B.C., the Israelites were constrained to circumvent the strongly guarded borders on the East.[60] However, the discovery of Middle Bronze Age tombs and a Late Bronze Age temple with rich imports of Greek pottery at Amman seemed to be evidence for the necessity of revising Professor Glueck's views.[61] This objection was viewed as insufficient evidence to dismiss Glueck's position of a nomad society, since nomads also buried their dead and may well have had centers of common worship such as Kadesh-barnea and Shiloh in early Israelite tradition.[62]

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[59] N. Glueck, B.A. Vol. 10 (1947) pp. 77f.

[60] Nelson Glueck, H.U.C.A., Vol. 32 (1961) p. 14; Also note, E.E. Flack, Interpretation, Vol. 13 (1959) pp. 7, 8; B.A., Vol. 10 (1947) p. 78. The southern and eastern borders of Edom were strongly protected by a long line of fortresses situated on the highest hills. See J. Bright, Interpretation, Vol. 2 (1948) pp. 331f. "Thus do archaeological facts bear out the validity of details, or of background, of Biblical accounts."

[61] G.L. Harding, Four Tomb Groups From Jordan. London, 1953; "Recent Discoveries in Jordan," P.E.Q., Vol. 90 (1958) pp. 10-12.

[62] G.E.Wright, op. cit., George M. Landes, B.A., Vol. 24 (1961) p. 68.

6. The Capture of Jericho

The dating of the capture of the city of Jericho on the basis of archaeological evidence has been fraught with difficulties. John Garstang on the basis of his excavations felt he had established the fall of the city in the latter part of the reign of Amenhetep III at about 1400 B.C. His failure to find Egyptian scarabs, Early Mycenaean pottery, or mention of Jericho in the Amarna letters necessitated a dating before the reign of Akhenaton.[63]

This evidence was widely accepted for a time. Thus G. Ernest Wright could state that Jericho fell and "...its fire-scarred ruins and fallen walls are eloquent testimony to an invading host."[64] To him, Jericho, together with Bethel and Lachish, had provided clear evidence for the Israelite invasion and had demonstrated that the biblical account of the conquest was not fictional.[65] The city's strong double wall with towers on two corners had fallen in a great conflagration of earthquake and fire which left thick layers of burnt brick and grey ash, and a destruction which was traceable in almost every house examined. Such a description was based upon the reports of Garstang's excavation.[66] It is natural therefore that Wright would use Garstang's arguments against Father Vincent who had always maintained that the conquest began about 1250 or shortly thereafter,[67] and that he would conclude that Jericho had fallen after 1400 B.C. without specifying how much after.[68] Later, Professor Wright was even prepared to state on this evidence from Jericho that the Deuteronomist was probably wrong in ascribing the capture of Jericho to Joshua.[69]

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[63] John Garstang, A.J.S.L.L., Vol. 58 (1941) p. 370.

[64] G. Ernest Wright, B.A., Vol. III (1940) p. 26.

[65] Ibid., p. 37.

W.F. Albright, who had formerly held a date of 1500 B.C. now maintained that the destruction of Jericho had occurred between 1375 and 1300 B.C.[70] Because of the diversity of opinion among the archaeologists, questions arose concerning the reason. T.J. Meek wondered whether Garstang's interpretation of the archaeological evidence had not been influenced by the generally accepted British view that the Exodus had taken place *circa*. 1450 B.C., and whether Albright's interpretation was not little more than a compromise between Garstang and Vincent.[71] While Meek maintained that the Exodus had taken place *circa.* 1225 B.C., he found no reason for making the date of the fall of Jericho in any way dependent upon it. He felt there was strong evidence both within and outside the Bible for the belief that Jericho was conquered by an Israelite group of Hebrews who had nothing to do with the sojourn in Egypt and the Exodus.[72]

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[66] Ibid., pp. 33-4.

[67] Ibid., p. 34.

[68] Ibid., p. 36. Jericho was destroyed some time between 1400 and 1230 B.C. (p. 33).

[69] J.N.E.S., Vol. 5 (1946) p. 114.

[70] W.F. Albright, B.A.S.O.R., No. 74 (1939) pp. 18f. Albright's date was based on the pottery of the Middle Palace which he viewed as certainly part of the latest pre-Israelite town on the site. It belonged in the main to the fourteenth century B.C. and could not be pushed into the fifteenth or the thirteenth centuries. Professor Albright's previous dating ±1360-±1320 B.C. was now viewed by him as too narrow for the evidence.

H.H. Rowley while trying to maintain a neutral position concerning the prevalent views, nevertheless criticized Albright for maintaining a date for the fall of Jericho which came some time before the "accepted" date of the Exodus. In trying to synthesize the biblical data with the archaeological, he suggested that "we cannot rule out *a priori* the possibility that the story of the fall of Jericho was transferred to him in tradition."[73] While maintaining the fourteenth century date, Wright was later inclined to agree with Rowley.[74]

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[71] T.J. Meek, *Journal of Religion*, Vol. 21 (1941) p. 406.

[72] *Ibid.*, p. 406 n.

By 1952 Floyd V. Filson was of the opinion that, together with Professor Albright, he had convinced biblical scholars that the fall of the city should probably be dated during the second half of the fourteenth century. According to Professor Filson, Miss Kathleen Kenyon's analysis of the evidence had led her to a similar conclusion.[75] S.H. Horn had been convinced by Albright and Wright that the acceptance of Vincent's date was virtually impossible, and that in 1953, the live options must fall sometime between 1400 and 1300 B.C.[76]

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[73] H.H. Rowley, B.A.S.O.R., No. 85 (1942) pp. 30f.

[74] G.E. Wright, B.A.S.O.R., No. 86 (1942) p. 33. "The destruction of Jericho as described in Joshua reflects either the burning of the first phase or of the second phase of City D. If the first, then the event occurred during the fifteenth or early fourteenth century. If the second, then the event occurred sometime later in the fourteenth century." Cf. J.N.E.S. Vol. 5 (1946) p. 144.

[75] Floyd V. Filson, B.A., Vol. 15 (1952) p. 43. Pottery from the Middle Building and Late Bronze tombs was dated from 1350 B.C. to late in the thirteenth century following the renewal of excavation by Miss Kenyon in 1952. However a double wall previously considered Late Bronze and destroyed by Joshua was found to be Early Bronze and almost all remains later than Early Bronze had disappeared from the top of the tell. See, A. Douglas Tushingham, B.A., Vol. 16 (1953) pp. 57-63.

[76] S.H. Horn, J.N.E.S., Vol. 12 (1953) p. 202.

Though excavations had been resumed at Jericho by Miss Kathleen Kenyon, the archaeological evidence in 1954 still seemed to date the end of the last "Canannite" occupation of Jericho at about the middle of the fourteenth century B.C.[77] By 1955 however it had become clear that the destruction must have occurred sometime between 1350 and 1200 B.C.[78]

The intensity of discussion regarding the dating of the destruction of Jericho suggests the importance which was attached to the archaeological evidence from this site. While the erosion of the Late Bronze deposits from the top of the tell reduced its importance for the establishment of a definitive data for the beginning of the conquest, its evidence is now in general agreement with the surveys of Transjordan and site excavations in the central hill country.

7. Conquest in the Central Hill Country

A. Ai and Bethel

According to the biblical record, the destruction of Jericho was followed by an Israelite armed thrust into the hill country and the conquest of the related cities of Ai and Bethel. While there were those who were affirming the destruction of

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[77] A. Douglas Tushingham, B.A., Vol. 17 (1954) pp. 103f.

[78] G.E. Wright, B.A., Vol. 18 (1955) pp. 107f.

Ai by the Israelites early in the thirteenth century B.C.,[79] excavation seemed to show that Ai, a city which flourished between 3000 and 2200 B.C., had been destroyed and never rebuilt (except for a few houses about 1000 B.C.). This obvious problem had prompted three main theories; 1) the narrative was entirely invented,[80] 2) the people of Bethel had temporarily occupied Ai to check the advance of the invaders, and 3) the conquest of Bethel was transferred to the ruins of Ai at a later time.[81]

At Bethel, however, the picture was clear. The excavations which had been conducted by Professor W.F. Albright in 1934 had indicated that a very prosperous city was destroyed and burned and that there had been a complete break in cultural remains during the first half of the thirteenth century B.C.[82]

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[79] R.M. Engberg, B.A.S.O.R., No. 78 (1940) pp. 4-7.

[80] According to Noth and Dussaud, the archaeological situation proves that the account of the capture and destruction of Ai in Joshua 7-8 is entirely legendary, having a purely etiological origin; i.e., to explain the destruction of so impressive a ruin. W.F. Albright, B.A.S.O.R., No. 74 (1939) p. 16.

[81] G.E. Wright, B.A., Vol. III (1940) p. 36.

[82] G.E. Wright, B.A., Vol. III (1940) p. 36, 39; Cf., W.F. Albright, B.A.S.O.R., No. 56 (1934) p. 11; No. 57 (1935) p. 30; No. 58 (1935) p. 13. In 1939 Prof. Albright reverted to a less precise date and ascribed the fall of Bethel to "some time in the thirteenth century B.C." Note, B.A.S.O.R., No. 74 (1939) p. 17.

Professor H.H. Rowley, while maintaining an elaborate reconstruction, would have found a later date more in agreement with his proposed date of the Exodus at circa. 1225 B.C.[83]

The excavations at Bethel had indicated that following the destruction during the thirteenth century there were three phases of occupation during the late thirteenth, the twelfth, and the early eleventh centuries, of which at least two were burned.[84] It thus became clear to Professor Wright that one of the destruction-of-Bethel traditions were ascribed to the ruin at Ai.[85] For Merrill F. Unger such an explanation was not adequate. He was convinced that either the small city was still to be found on another part of the tell, or that the city might be found on another site.[86] Millar Burrow's use of Ai as an illustration of the way in which archaeology corrects the Bible was for Unger "...a common illustration of the abuse of biblical archaeology."[87]

It was fairly well established that Bethel was among those cities which had suffered destruction within the period

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[83] H.H. Rowley, B.A.S.O.R., No. 85 (1942) p. 30.

[84] W.F. Albright, B.A.S.O.R. No. 56 (1934) pp. 9ff.

[85] G.E. Wright, J.N.E.S., Vol. V (1946) pp. 107f, 113f.

[86] Merrill F. Unger, Bibliotheca Sacra, Vol. 105 (1948) pp. 300f.

[87] Millar Burrows, What Mean These Stones? p. 273.

1250 to 1200 B.C.[88] The cultural break with the disappearance of fuedalism and the establishment of a "democracy of scarcity" was evident. Small houses, crude masonry, a deteriorated form of pottery, together with the disappearance of all Canaanite cult objects seemed to point to the settlement of the aniconic Israelites.[89]

Ai continued to be a problem. The conjecture that Israel's conquest of a different site had been transferred to Ai also continued. Not only had a sounding by Professor Joseph A. Callaway at Khirbet Hiayân in 1964 eliminated the most suitable alternative site for the elusive Ai of Joshua's conquest, but his excavations at et-Tell further complicated the biblical references to the Israelite town "Aiath" or "Aija" belonging to Iron Age II for there was an absence of any signs of Iron Age II remains.[90] Thus the biblical problem of Ai remains.

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[88] E.F. Campbell, Jr., *B.A.*, Vol. 23 (1960) p. 12.

[89] James L. Kelso, *B.A.*, Vol. 19 (1956) p. 39.

[90] *B.A.*, Vol. 28 (1965) pp. 28f.

B. Lachish and Debir

Lachish[91] and Debir[92] were the next objectives of the Israelites' main military thrust according to the biblical record.[93] That these cities fell around 1230 B.C. has been generally accepted, on the basis of archaeological evidence.[94] At Lachish the Fosse Temple, a small Canaanite temple of the fifteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C. was destroyed shortly before 1200 B.C., presumably when the Israelites conquered the city.[95] Albright's excavations at Tell Beit Mirsim had demonstrated the evidence of a violent destruction about the same time as the destruction of Lachish.[96] However, while the destruction of Lachish was followed by virtual desertion during the period of the Judges,[97] the destruction of Tell Beit Mirsim was followed by two phases of occupation.[98] The first came to an end early in the twelfth century and was by a people unfamiliar with Canaanite arts and crafts.[99] From archaeological evidence it is clear that three of the six towns destroyed in Judah were burned and two can be dated to circa. 1230-1225 B.C.[100] At Tell el-Hesi (Eglon) there may well have been a destruction about 1200 B.C.[101]

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[91] Tell ed-Duweir, There is no break in the history of the Canaanite temple from about 1500 B.C. to its final destruction by fire about 1230 B.C. Cf., W.F. Albright, B.A.S.O.R., No. 74 (1939) p. 22.

[92] Tell Beit Mirsim, an identification made by W.F. Albright who excavated there. Following extensive archaeological surveys in the Judean hills, Israelite archaeologists have suggested the possibility that Rabud, a site about ten kilometers southwest of Hebron but still in the hill country, may have been the location of biblical Debir.

[93] Joshua 10:31-9. According to Professor H.H. Rowley's reconstruction, the tribe of Judah which entered the land in the fourteenth century, gradually extended its control over this area, and captured these cities in the thirteenth century B.C. In Joshua 15:15ff and Judges 1:11ff. the capture of Debir is stated to have been achieved by Othniel as a part of the Judahite settlement of the south. According to Rowley, it is probable that there is transferred to Joshua a victory with which he really had nothing to do. The ascription of the victory over Lachish to Joshua may have been a similar transfer. Cf. B.A.S.O.R., No. 85 (1942) pp. 29f.

[94] R.M. Engberg, B.A.S.O.R., No. 78 (1940) p. 4; G.E. Wright, B.A., Vol. III (1940) p. 26; J.L. Kelso and J. Palin Thorley, B.A., Vol. 8 (1945) p. 84.

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[95] G.E. Wright, B.A., Vol. 18 (1955) p. 9; J.N.E.S. Vol. V (1946) p. 111. "The very violence of the destruction of Lachish about the end of the third quarter of that century is, therefore, extremely suggestive (even though it does not constitute absolute proof) of the historicity of Joshua 10:32."

[96] W.F. Albright, Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible, (1935) pp. 91ff; A.A.S.O.R., Vol. XVII (1938) pp. 78f. B.A.S.O.R., No. 74 (1939) p. 23.

[97] G.E. Wright, op. cit.

[98] W.F. Albright, op. cit., pp. 101ff.

[99] G.E. Wright, J.N.E.S., Vol. V (1946) pp. 111, 113.

[100] Makkedah, Libnah, Lachish, Eglon, Hebron and Debir. The location of Makkedah is unknown, and the site of Hebron is within the confines of the modern city of Hebron.

[101] G.E. Wright, op. cit.

C. Other Sites

Beth-shemesh was destroyed circa. 1200 B.C. or shortly thereafter and again at the end of the eleventh century.[102] The cultural remains on the site, almost indistinguishable from those of the Philistine Plain, indicate a Philistine economic, and probably also a political control, during the late twelfth and eleventh centuries B.C.[103] This seemed to be the extent of the Israelites' westward penetration, for Gezer, on the basis of archaeological evidence, must be assumed to have been under Philistine control during the late twelfth and eleventh centuries[104] and was not destroyed until shortly after 1000 B.C.[105] Sharuhen occupation was interrupted sometime during the twelfth century B.C.[106]

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[102] G.E. Wright, Ain Shems Excavations, Part IV, pp. 11ff. Cf., J.N.E.S., Vol. V (1946) p. 113.

[103] idem, J.B.L., Vol. 60 (1941) p. 35. The evidence of a metal-working establishment on the site and the degree of technological development was unknown at any of the sites excavated in the hill country. The Philistines are credited with the introduction of iron into common use in Palestine (pp 36f.)

[104] G.E. Wright, J.B.L., Vol. 60 (1941) p. 35.

[105] idem., B.A., Vol. III (1940) p. 26: Cf.

[106] idem., J.N.E.S., Vol. V (1946) p. 113.

According to the conquest tradition, Joshua waged no battles in the area of Shechem.[107] The excavations at Shechem conducted by the Drew-McCormick Expedition found clear evidence that the site had not been destroyed at the time of the conquest.[108] Yet an ostracon found by the excavators at Samaria indicated that Shechem was sending produce to the king of Samaria and belonged to the district of Manasseh, and therefore had probably established a treaty with the Israelites.[109]

8. Conquest in the North

Any discussion of the significance or date of the Israelite conquest in the north, of necessity, had been based on the biblical narrative, since no stratigraphical excavation had been done at Hazor, the capital of the Canaanite city-states in northern Palestine.[110] Based on soundings at the site, John Garstang had stated that Hazor was destroyed about 1400 B.C., which seemed to corroborate the findings of his excavations at Jericho.[111] With the results of the Israeli excavation which began in 1954, under the direction of Yigael Yadin, there was definite proof that the destruction of Hazor, ending Canaanite domination, came during the thirteenth century, and coincided with the time of the occupation of Canaan by the tribes of Israel.[112] A thirteenth century date of the final destruction would seem to agree with references to Hazor's importance as a political center in inscriptions from the second millenium B.C. Mentioned in the Egyptian Execration Texts of the nineteenth century B.C., in the topographical lists of Pharaohs Thutmose III, Amenhotep II and Seti I and a list of messengers from Palestine to Egypt dating from the eighteenth century B.C., and in the el-Amarna letters from the fourteenth century B.C., where it is described as an important kingdom with wide influence, it is last mentioned in Papyrus Anastasi I from the thirteenth century B.C., shortly before the fall of the city.[113] This final period of Canaanite domination contained a temple with ritual vessels and orthostats, almost identical to a less well-preserved temple discovered by Sir Leonard Woolley at Tell Atchana (Alalakh) in Syria, and indicated a clear affinity between the Canaanite culture of Hazor and that of northern

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[107] B.W. Anderson, B.A., Vol. 20 (1957) p. 14.

[108] G.E. Wright, J.B.L. Vol. 77 (1958) p. 48.

[109] W. Harrelson, B.A., Vol. 20 (1957) pp. 9f.

[110] B. Maisler, H.U.C.A., Vol. 24 (1952) pp. 83f.

[111] G.E. Wright, B.A. Vol. 18 (1955) p. 108.

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[112] Y. Yadin, B.A., Vol. 20 (1957) pp. 9-10, 42.

[113] A. Malamat, J.B.L., Vol. 79 (1960) pp. 12f.

Syria and Anatolia.[114] Two phases of Israelite occupation were found to have existed on the mound before Solomon's construction of a garrison city. The earlier settlement was dated to the middle of the twelfth century B.C.[115]

Archaeological excavation and survey have demonstrated their importance in the establishment of a chronological scheme in the Exodus and Conquest. Here the material, anepigraphical data have established a consistent sequence for the events of the passage through Transjordan, and the early military campaigns which resulted in the destruction of Jericho, Bethel, Lachish, Tell Beit Mirsim and Hazor.

The confused picture twenty-five years ago concerning the date of the Exodus and Conquest because of the faulty interpretation of archaeological evidence from Jericho has been clarified.

With the accumulation of archaeological evidence for a late thirteenth century B.C. date for the Conquest, leading biblical scholars, on the basis of that evidence, began to adjust the dates of their reconstructions. The major exceptions were those scholars who were committed to a fifteenth century B.C. date for the Exodus on the basis of biblical evidence.

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[114] Y. Yadin, B.A., Vol. 21 (1958) pp. 38f.

[115] Ibid., p. 14.

Through a comparison with Sumerian, Assyrian, Babylonian, Hittite, and Ugaritic legal codes, the legal codes and the role of Moses in the wilderness sojourn have been illuminated, though here there is a much greater diversity of opinion. That antecedents for the Israelite legal system exist in the legislative codes of these earlier civilizations which have been recovered by excavation has established the direction of more recent study.

VIII. SETTLEMENT AND CONSOLIDATION OF ISRAEL IN PALESTINE

A most important aspect of the establishment of the nationhood which evolved into the Davidic Kingdom was the period which immediately followed the first military thrust under Joshua. The people beyond the confines of the central hill country are known, on the basis of archaeological evidence, to have participated in closely interrelated political, religious, and commercial activity. The native Canaanites, enjoying a high state of culture were associating daily with Hittites from Asia Minor, Hurrians from the Upper Euphrates, Amorites, Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians and Indo-Europeans from Persia.[1] World trade was extensive with Syria, Egypt and the Aegean. Metal workers, artisans in copper, bronze, lead, and gold, lived in well-built houses, with paved or plastered floors, along city streets with drainage systems in the Canaanite royal cities such as Bethel, Beth-shemesh and Kirjath-sepher.[2]

To such a scene had come the Hebrew tribes, who according to the biblical record, had grown up in the "wilderness" and who have been referred to as "a movement of uncultured

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[1] G.E. Wright, B.A., Vol. III (1940) p. 28.

[2] idem., J.B.L., Vol. 60 (1941) p. 31.

'barbarians' into the scenes of self-conscious civilization -- never productive in the arts and refinements of material existence."[3] They came to the hill country, which until the days of the Judges had been sparsely populated, for a seeming period of adjustment.[4]

Except for the biblical record, the only mention of the Israelites in Palestine found in oriental record before the ninth century B.C. comes from the stele of Pharaoh Merneptah where in reference to his military campaign in Palestine and his encounter with Israel the Pharaoh says, "The People of Israel is desolate; it has no offspring." This memorial stone was first dated to about 1230 B.C.[5] and later adjusted to 1219 B.C. by Professor Albright.[6] The critical phase of the conquest came immediately before or shortly after the Merneptah Stele.

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[3] Op.cit.

[4] Ibid., p. 29.

[5] G.E. Wright, "Epic of Conquest" B.A., Vol. III (1940) p. 27; Cf., W.F. Albright, B.A.S.O.R., No. 74 (1939) pp. 21f; Also, B.A.S.O.R., No. 125 (1952) p. 27.

[6] W.F. Albright, B.A.S.O.R., No.125 (1952) p. 32. Professor Albright felt this change was necessary in view of the convincing work of M.B. Rowton, Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, Vol. 34 (1948) p. 72.

The period of the Judges was a very disturbed age with most of the towns which have been excavated in Palestine of this period being destroyed or partially destroyed at least once during the twelfth and eleventh centuries. The fact that these destructions seem to have no correlation could suggest that the unrest which caused them was of a local nature.[7] In the central hill-country there is no evidence of commercial relations with other peoples until after the middle of the eleventh century when Phoenician and Cypriote objects, especially, become increasingly common.[8] Though there is little evidence for city fortifications during the period, it would seem there was insufficient community organization to build exceptionally strong fortresses. Canaanite city walls and gates, as at Shechem and Beth-shemesh were repaired and continued in use.[9] Clustered houses of gathered stones were constructed with none of the Canaanite refinements. The permanent settlement in the hill country had been made possible by the new discovery just prior to the conquest of the process for plastering, or waterproofing, cisterns. The novelty of this process may have accounted for the sparseness of population in the hill country at the time of the conquest.[10]

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[7] G.E. Wright, J.N.E.S., Vol. 5 (1946) p. 113; B.A., Vol. 18 (1955) p. 107; J.B.L., Vol. 77 (1958) p. 44.

[8] idem., J.B.L., Vol. 60 (1941) pp. 31f.

[9] idem., B.A., Vol. 18 (1955) p. 57.

1. Infiltration and Settlement

There is a wide diversification of opinion regarding the entrance and settlement of the tribes of Israel in Palestine. For some scholars the pattern of events outlined in the books of Joshua and Judges is clear. An initial conquest of Canaan under the leadership of Joshua is restricted to military campaigns in which Canaanite forces are defeated in battle and some cities are taken and destroyed, After the major Canaanite resistance is broken, the land is allotted to the individual tribes by Joshua, but the permanent possession of the assigned territories is in some cases delayed for a long time.[11] At the opposite end of the interpretative spectrum are those who find Joshua 11 and Judges 1 irreconcilable and the evidence of errors and contradictions in the Old Testament.[12] The historicity of most of Joshua 10, 11 was denied and the representation of Judges of the gradual and partial subjugation of the land by the tribes accepted as a more accurate portrayal. Professor G.E. Wright viewed this solution as an oversimplification.[13] He and other scholars were agreed that the story of the conquest was presented in a telescoped historical perspective,[14] but that there was an initial concerted assault under Joshua[15] though the occupation of the land was only gradually achieved by the individual tribes within their own area. Major fortresses especially in the plains had not been taken, and until the time of Saul only Palestine's central ridge had been occupied,[16] and even there Canaanite enclaves such as Jerusalem, Gibeon, etc. remained. But in this area archaeological excavation has demonstrated such violent destruction of cities, that the initial entrance of the Israelites in which Israelites and Canaanites were gradually amalgamated must be ruled out.[17]

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[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 56f.

[11] Walter R. Roehrs, *C.T.M.*, Vol. 31 (1960) pp. 759-60.

[12] W.A. Irwin, *P.S.T. Journal*, Vol. 7 (1954) p. 5.

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[13] J.N.E.S., Vol. 5 (1946) pp. 105f. Cf., B.A., Vol. 10 (1947) p. 13, "The supposed conflict between Joshua 10-11 and Judges 1 has been exaggerated, and a new point of view regarding the historicity of the Conquest is necessitated."

[14] G.E. Wright, B.A., Vol. 3 (1940) p. 26.

[15] G.E. Wright, J.N.E.S., Vol. 2 (1946) pp. 105-114; F.M. Cross, Jr., B.A., Vol. 10 (1947) pp. 49f.

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 26f.

[17] G.E. Wright, B.A., Vol. 10 (1947) p. 13; J. Bright, *Interpretation,* Vol. 1 (1947) p. 160.

Archaeological artifacts from twelfth and eleventh century strata at hill-country sites (Shiloh, Bethel, Ai, Tell en-Nasbeh, Gibeah, Beth-zur, and Tell Beit Mirsim) amply indicate the transition from the Earlier Canaanite refinements to the poorly built houses, the lack of town planning, the "barbarous" art, the poorly fashioned pottery, and the hastily and crudely constructed fortifications.[18]

What has thus far been presented concerning the conquest of Palestine has been basically the traditional view of the biblical narratives of the twelve tribes invading _en masse_ with a systematic and progressive military campaign through Transjordan, the central hill country and ending with the conquest of northern Palestine. Those scholars who hold that this narrative is essentially correct though over-simplified correlate archaeological investigation with the biblical narratives in support of the validity of those narratives.[19] At the same time there have been those who have disconnected the Hebrew "conquest" from archaeological evidence of the destruction of cities, and instead presented the view that the Hebrew tribes infiltrated peacefully and became sedentary within a settled land.[20] Though radically different, both of these views commonly hold that the Twelve Tribes were an ethnic unity of nomads or "semi-nomads" entering Palestine from some other area. However the multiplicity of factors in the historical process by which the Twelve Tribes of ancient Israel established themselves in Palestine and Northern Transjordan has prompted other reconstructions.

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[18] G.E. Wright, _J.B.L._, Vol. 60 (1941) pp. 31f.

[19] G.E. Wright, "The Literary and Historical Problem of Joshua 10 and Judges 1" _J.N.E.S._, Vol. V (1946) pp. 105-14. Cf., _Biblical Archaeology,_ Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1957, pp. 69-84.

George E. Mendenhall, in rejecting the idea of total or semi-nomadism as being related to any phase of Hebrew history,[21] viewed the pastoral patriarchs as villagers specializing in animal husbandry, and the formulation of tribes coming through a solidarity of political and subjective withdrawal of large groups of pre-existent social units from any obligation to the existing political regimes. It was a reaction of the villagers against the city-state system which dominated the whole of Palestine and Syria at the end of the Bronze Age. Thus for Professor Mendenhall there was no statistically important invasion of Palestine at the beginning of the twelve tribe system of Israel, no radical displacement of population, no genocide, no driving out of the population (only of royal administrators), and no real conquest of Palestine at all, but a peasant's revolt against the Canaanite city-state system.[22] This Hebrew conquest of Palestine took place because of a religious movement and motivation which began with a group of slave-labor captives who escaped from Egypt and established a relationship with a deity, Yahweh, who had no antecedents, except in human traditions about the way in which God manifested Himself to humans. This spiritual relationship which demanded absolute loyalty immediately transcended tribal religion and created a community above the tribal level. Thus the religious community had its beginnings in an escape from Egypt and a religious bond of covenant by a small group which was sustained in the desert by a succession of miracles. Following their defeat of Og and Sihon and the subsequent settlement in Transjordan, their arrival in Palestine proper a generation later polarized the existing population all over the land and in isolated battles the kings were defeated and driven out since the major threat to early Israel came from the coalition of the city kings, and cities which were destroyed were resettled or, like Lachish, could not successfully be held. According to Professor Mendenhall's reconstruction, therefore, Israel began as a specifically religious community and only "...in the course of time and historical calamity did the religious community eventually rely largely upon biblical continuity based upon endogamy and considerable resistance to the access of ethnic outsiders."[23] Thus there is no basis for the unity of the twelve tribes before Moses, and the tradition that all the tribes descended from a single ancestor must be viewed as an attempt to give expression to a unity which was created by the religious factor.[24]

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[20] For example, Martin Noth, The History of Israel, p. 146.

[21] Nahum M. Sarna, J.B.L., Vol. 79 (1960) pp. 288f. Professor Sarna also takes exception to the concept that the Semites were nomads or semi-nomads and claims that writers, such as Professor S. Moscati fail to note the importance of the movements of people between the great centers of civilization within the area of the Fertile Crescent. Cf., Sabatino Moscati, The Semites in Ancient History, Cardiff: University of Wales, 1959, p. 91.

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[22] George E. Mendenhall, B.A., Vol. 25 (1962) pp. 69-73.

Implicit in such a reconstruction is the attempt to form a sound and reasonably authentic picture of history which may serve as a frame in which further fruitful lines of inquiry may be pursued. One aspect which increasingly became a vital part of any reconstruction was the recognition of the Israelites' penetration of Canaanite territory by infiltration and a peaceful transition. It was viewed by some that to speak of conquest alone diminished the non-military factors involved in the entrance of the Hebrews and the gradual merging of the two peoples in which the Canaanites became Israelites under the Kingdom of David.[25]

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[23] B.A., Vol. 25 (1965) p. 86.

[24] Ibid., pp. 85-6. Compare, Walter G. Williams, The Iliff Review II (1945) p.173. "...it becomes increasingly clear that the Hebrews were not one people except for a short period under David and Solomon. Even then the ties were political and not of a common ancestry and culture."

Reconstructions are not always concerned with the total spectrum of biblical history but may focus on rather significant details of interpretative challenge. For instance, the mention of an Upper Mesopotamian tribe, named Banu-Iamina, in the Mari texts prompted attempts to equate it with the Israelite tribe of Benjamin and to trace its development from the eighteenth or twentieth century B.C.[26] While linguistic evidence alone can hardly prove the relationship of two groups so geographically and temporally remote,[27] the attempts to establish new correlations between the details of the biblical narratives and new information from archaeological discoveries, whether epigraphical or anepigraphical, are providing meaningful insights for further study.

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[25] G.E. Mendenhall, Review of Geschichte Israels, by Martin Noth. J.B.L., Vol. 73 (1954) pp. 106-8. Also Norman K. Gottwald, A. Light to the Nations, p. 160.

[26] J. Muilenburg, J.B.L., Vol. 75 (1956) pp. 194ff.

[27] Martin A. Cohen, H.U.C.A., Vol. 36 (1965) pp. 59-98.

In the Amarna letters, Shechem is pictured as the capital of an extensive kingdom in the hill country of central Palestine, ruled by Labʾayu.[28] Since the Bible does not include Shechem either in the list of cities destroyed or those too strong for the Israelites to capture, its information seemed to coincide with archaeological evidence that a peaceful transition brought Shechem into the Israelite territory (Joshua 24).[29]

Similarly at Beth-zur, archaeological remains indicate there was no resistance to the advance of the Israelites who occupied the city and strengthened parts of the Middle Bronze fortifications. The twelfth and eleventh centuries are characterized by a large population and apparent prosperity which tended to fade during the latter part of the tenth century.[30]

At Hazor where two settlements preceded the establishment of a garrison city by Solomon, the earlier Israelite settlement following the destruction of the Canaanite city was evidently very poor with temporary dwellings of a semi-nomadic people. The only remains on the mound consisted of rubble foundations of tents and huts, crude ovens and numerous silos in the earth for the storage of pottery and grain. That these early Israelites would settle there temporarily as early as the middle of the twelfth century may well suggest that the other contemporary Israelite settlements in the Upper Galilee also belonged to the "post-conquest" period[31] and were not the result of a peaceful infiltration prior to the conquest.[32]

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[28] E.F. Campbell Jr., *B.A.*, Vol. 23 (1960) pp. 2-22; Walter J. Harrelson, "Shechem in Extra-Biblical References" *B.A.*, Vol. 20 (1957) p. 4.

[29] Edward F. Campbell Jr. and James F. Ross, *B.A.*, Vol. 26 (1963) p. 10.

[30] O.R. Sellers, *B.A.*, Vol. 21 (1958) p. 73f.

2. The Philistines

Professor S. Yeivin suggested that beginning in the second half of the fourteenth century B.C. onward, first as infiltrators and then as invaders, successive bands of Israelites penetrated the mountanous areas of Cisjordan and began their advance toward the sea.[33] During the third quarter of the thirteenth century they encountered Merneptah during his campaign in Palestine, as he recorded in his Stele, and soon were thwarted in their occupation of the coastal plain by the

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[31] Y. Yadin, B.A., Vol. 22 (1959) pp. 12-14.

[32] Y. Aharoni, Antiquity and Survival II (1957) no. 2-3, pp. 131-150.

[33] S. Yeivin, J.Q.R., Vol. 50 (1960) pp. 193-196.

"Sea Peoples."[34] Defeated by Ramses III, these "Sea Peoples" settled on the coastal plain south of Mount Carmel, while to the north the Israelite tribe of Asher penetrated by gradual infiltration, as in other places the expansion of the tribes throughout the land was a spontaneous drive for settlement. Having established a pentapolis in the southern Palestinian coastal plain between Gaza and Tell Qasile, the Philistines, until the time of David, largely contained any advance by the Israelites toward the sea. Because of the distinctive nature of their pottery and objects, and the uniqueness of their burial practices, an analysis of their material culture has clearly indicated that during the twelfth century they occupied Beth-shan, possibly in the employ of Rameses III.[35]

The text of I Samuel 13:19-21 which speaks of the lack of smiths among the Israelites and their dependence on Philistine artisans enjoying a profitable monopoly, was regarded by critics as hopelessly corrupt until interpreted with the aid of archaeology. Not only has the meaning of several words been clarified through archaeological finds, excavation has shown that while coppersmiths were present throughout Palestine in the time of Samuel, the Israelites were dependent upon iron-smiths in the Philistine settlements.[36]

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[34] G.E. Wright, B.A., Vol. 22 (1959) pp. 54-57. Cf. T. Dothan, "Archaeological Reflections on the Philistine Problem" Antiquity and Survival, Vol. II, No. 2/3 pp. 151-164.

[35] Ibid., pp. 64-5.

The Philistine power which was demonstrated at the battle of Shiloh (circa. 1050 B.C.)[37] was broken during the reigns of Saul and David. Archaeological evidence has shown that the culture of the Philistine plain lost its spontaneity and virility and only very decadent traces of the characteristic Philistine pottery appears in strata from after 1000 B.C., as the culture in the area became increasingly like that in the hill country.[38]

While archaeological excavations have for the most part been most important in determining population distribution, ethnic migrations, cultural changes, the identification of ancient sites, etc., on rare occasions the archaeologists have experienced consistent consternation. The location of the Philistine city of Gath has doggedly eluded their persistence.

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[36] E.A. Speiser, "Of Shoes and Shekels" B:A.S.O.R., No. 77 (1940) pp. 15-20.

[37] W.F. Albright, B.A.S.O.R., No. 78 (1940) p. 8; G.E. Wright, J.N.E.S., Vol. 5 (1946) p. 113. M.F. Unger, B. Sacra, Vol. 105 (1948) pp. 303f.

[38] G.E. Wright, J.B.L., Vol. 60 (1941) pp. 40f.

Suggested locations have included Khirbet Dikkerin,[39] Tell eṣ-Sāfi,[40] Tell el-Manšiyyah,[41] and finally Tell en-Najīlah,[42] with subsequent investigation and excavation resulting with evidence to the contrary.[43] This frustration has prompted the possibility of other sites, a return to Tell es-Safi, and a suggested change in the nature of the Philistine culture in Southern Palestine. It has been suggested that Philistia, occupied by Canaanites in the pre-Iron and pre-Philistine periods, had a continuous cultural development in Palestine, and that the nature of the Philistine "invasion" should not be misunderstood as a mass movement of peoples who wiped out the former Canaanite population and culture and established a new social order.[44] Assuming therefore that Palestine was not totally occupied by the Philistines in the early decades of the twelfth and eleventh centuries, Gath may have retained her king, Achish, who entered into a covenant with David.[45] Thus Gath was able to maintain her Canaanite culture while under Philistine political suzerainty. This would explain the difficulty in identifying the site of Gath and the failure to find Philistine pottery at Tell el-Mansiyyah.[46]

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[39] Eusebius and Jerome suggested the vicinity of Kirbet Dikkerin. Eusebius, Onomasticon, (ed. Klostermann) places Gath five milestones from Eleutheropolis (Beit Jibrin) to Diospolis (modern Lydda). Khirbet Dikkerin is five miles from Beit Jibrin on a Roman Road leading to Lydda.

[40] This location was proposed by Porter, Bliss and Macalister, and accepted by Holscher, Elliger, Eissfeldt, and Noth (with reservation). Bliss and Macalister were unable to verify the identification by excavation at the site in 1898-1900.

[41] Rejecting Tell eṣ-Safi, W.F. Albright (A.A.S.O.R., 2/3 (1921/2) pp. 8-12) was supported by many scholars including Beyer, Abel, Simons, and Wright. However, while its size and location suggest the strong possibility of such an identification, excavation beginning in 1956 did not produce the expected "Philistine" ware.

[42] First suggested by Mazar in 1954, excavations by Dr. R. Amiran again failed to produce a "Philistine" stratum. I.E.J., Vol. II (1961) pp. 101-110.

[43] Tell en-Najilah proved to be the site of a Hyksos stronghold (1750-1550) with the typical beaten-earth (glacis) fortification. The Hyksos strata just below the surface of the tell covered Early Bronze remains (3rd millenium B.C.) Cf. E.F. Campbell Jr., B.A., Vol. 26 (1963) p. 30.

Topographical and archaeological studies suggest that the lists of boundaries in Joshua 12 to 20 reflect the period to which they lay claim.[47] Professor Albright has also defended the antiquity of the list of spies in Numbers 13:4-16, on the basis of the archaeological documentation of the names.[48] The list of the Levitical cities in Joshua, often regarded as post-exilic and worthless historically, has been shown to reflect an actual phase in Israel's institutional history and may be dated as early as the time of David.[49] But even more significantly, as Amorite names from the Mari tablets continued to be published and the onomastica of the second millenium B.C. grew, the evidence grew stronger that it was futile to deny that the names of the princes listed in Numbers 1, 2, 7 and 10 formed an old document which accurately reflected the name usage of Mosaic times.[50]

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[44] Hanna E. Kassis, J.B.L., Vol. 84 (1965) pp. 259-271.

[45] Kassis suggests that Achish entered into a covenant relationship with David to overthrow Philistine domination (I Chron. 18:1) while providing David with 600 Gittites as a personal bodyguard.

[46] According to Kassis, agrarian people, like the Canaanites, did not produce this expensive type of pottery and could seldom afford the luxury of obtaining it. Hanna E. Kassis, op. cit., p. 270.

[47] F.M. Cross, Jr., B.A., Vol. 10 (1947) pp. 52f.

For each historical period the remains of archaeological excavation provide illustrative information concerning the cultural facets, from the most minute details, such as the tendency to depreciate the standards of weights and measures with the passing of time, or the revaluations of those standards by official act, the variations between official and unofficial measures, the use of different standards, and possibly even foreign influence,[51] to much more weighty problems such as the determination of the date of boundary and province lists,[52] the location of biblical sites, etc. Basic to the study of boundary and province lists and the final determination of a theory is the archaeological evidence from the particular site in question. And while archaeological evidence has often suggested new insights and possible adjustments in interpretation, i.e., that archaeological evidence alone prompts the revision of views held by the literary critics, on occasion archaeological re-examination has been prompted by literary insights.[53]

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[48] Ibid., p. 54; Cf., W.F. Albright, Archaeology and the Religion of Israel, p. 201, note 13. (The name Bezalel which was denounced by earlier scholarship as post-exilic now has been shown to have good parallels from old Amorite usage.)

[49] J. Bright, Interpretation, Vol. 2 (1948) p. 333; Cf., W.F. Albright, "The List of Levitic Cities" in the Louis Ginzberg Jubilee Volume Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1945, pp. 49-73.

[50] F.M. Cross, Jr., B.A., Vol. 10 (1947) pp. 52-4.

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[51] R.B.Y. Scott, B.A., Vol. 22 (1959) p. 39.

[52] F.M. Cross, Jr., and G.E. Wright, J.B.L., Vol. 75 (1956) p. 226.

3. The Kingdoms of David and Solomon

Information from Alalakh and especially Ugarit, dating from the eighteenth to the thirteenth centuries B.C. indicates that in his denunciation of kingship, Samuel's account of what would happen to the children of Israel if they formed a monarchy was an authentic description of the semi-fuedal Canaanite society which was still in existence in those sections of the country which had not been dominated by the Israelites at that time. In each city-state, the Canaanite king was a merchant prince who engaged in varied commercial and industrial enterprises often at the expense of his subjects.[54] Each city-state with its small armed force of conscripted foot-soldiers (commoners) and professional soldiers (maryannu), a hereditary position of service which included control and income from crown lands, was maintained by the corvée labor (consisting of the construction of roads, the erection of fortresses, the building of temples, and the tilling of the crown lands).[55] It may no longer be assumed therefore that Samuel's denunciation of kingship was a late document reflecting actual experience of the ways of Israelite and Judean kingship, but placed in the mouth of Samuel to give it authority, but rather is an actual appeal to the people by the contemporary of Saul not to impose a Canaanite institution upon themselves which was alien to their way of life.[56]

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[53] Kurt Galling, in a review of the discussion concerning Kirjath-sepher (Debir), (Z.D.P.V. Vol. 70 (1954)pp. 135-41) suggested that Debir is to be identified with Khirbet Rabûd, ca. 3 miles NE of Ẓâharîyeh. While Cross and Wright were willing to accept the location of the newly suggested site, their rejection consisted in affirming the necessity of a "sizable mound with good archaeological evidence for a Late Bronze Age city of sufficient strength to be a Canaanite Royal city ...to compete with Tell Beit Mirsim"... "It must have been the chief city-state and the key fortification SW of Hebron during the 13th century, which argues for a position near the Shephelah." ("The Boundary and Province Lists of the Kingdom of Judah" J.B.L., Vol. 75 (1956) p. 220, note 42.) Until such a place is found, Cross and Wright stated, "it is difficult to go elsewhere for Debir." Archaeological surveys by Israeli scholars conducted during the fall and winter 1967-68, now have discovered a sizable collection of Late Bronze pottery in Khirbet Rabûd suggesting the strong possibility of a large Late Bronze city (Personal communication - Dr. G. Douglas Young.) Thus Tell Beit Mirsim, which long has been identified with Debir, may be on the verge of forfeiting that designation on the basis of additional archaeological evidence suggested by a site's retention of the inverted form of its name.

Though the initial military advance of the Israelites under Joshua was largely limited to the central hill country and one main thrust into the north directed at the destruction of Hazor, ultimately with the Israelites' consolidation and more effective leadership, the boundaries of occupation began to expand and to engulf major Canaanite centers. Beth-shan, during the early twelfth century B.C., an Egyptian frontier post manned by a garrison of officers and mercenaries, fell to the Israelites during the tenth century B.C.[57] Megiddo, another of the Canaanite towns which had successfully withstood the first assault of the Israelites,[58] finally came under Israelite control. Egyptian controlled Megiddo (City VI)[59] suffered a violent destruction after 1100 B.C.[60] It was thought therefore that following the battle in which Deborah's forces defeated the Canaanites, the culture which began about 1050 B.C. developed into a characteristically Hebrew culture.[61] Similarly, excavations at Tell Abu Hawam, near Haifa, provided evidence that the site was destroyed circa. 1200 B.C. and again circa. 1100 B.C. which suggested that the latter destruction coincided with the Israelite conquest of Megiddo.[62] This period was thought to mark the beginning of Israelite control in the North.[63]

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[54] I Samuel 8:4-17

[55] W.F. Albright, B.A.S.O.R. No. 94 (1944) pp. 12-27 (For the commercial activities of the Syrian and Palestinian kings in the El-Amarna period.)

[56] I. Mendelsohn, B.A.S.O.R., No. 143 (1956) pp. 17-18.

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[57] G.E. Wright, J.B.L., Vol. 60 (1941) pp. 33ff. Though active Egyptian intervention in Palestine came to an end during the second half of the twelfth century B.C., the Philistines, serving Egyptian interests, maintained control of the city until its fall to the Israelites during the tenth century in the time of David. The limestone gateway of City IV, constructed of embossed stones like those used at Solomonic Megiddo, was an indication of later Israelite construction. Excavations at Beth-shan also revealed two strata of ruins belonging to the period of the Judges. See, G.E. Wright A.J.A., Vol. 45 (1941) pp. 483ff.

[58] R.M. Engberg, B.A.S.O.R., No. 78 (1940) p. 5.

[59] W.F. Albright, B.A.S.O.R., No. 78 (1940) p. 8. Megiddo VI began after about 1150 B.C. at the earliest, since the debris of City VII contained a cartouche of Rameses II (1195-1164 B.C.) and a statue-base of Rameses VI who came to the throne not earlier than 1154 B.C.).

An examination of the cermaic remains has shown however that Tell Abu Hawam (IV) Tell Qasile (X) and Megiddo (VI) during the second half of the eleventh century B.C. and the beginning of the tenth century B.C. were a part of the Philistine control over the Via Maris, the Canaanite cities in the Valley of Jezreel and the local sea trade, prior to the conquests of

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[60] G.E. Wright, J.B.L., Vol. 60 (1941) p. 33. Charcoal-filled debris, two to seven feet deep covered most of the mound. The pottery of Megiddo City V corresponded closely to that of Tell el-Fûl II and was dated about 1000 B.C. (See W.F. Albright, B.A.S.O.R., No. 78 (1940) p. 8) Cf., B.A., Vol. 3 (1940) pp. 26f.

[61] G.E. Wright, B.A., Vol. 4 (1941) pp. 11f; R.M. Engberg, B.A.S.O.R., No.78 (1940) p. 7; W.F. Albright, B.A.S.O.R., No. 78 (1940) pp. 8f.

[62] G.E. Wright, J.N.E.S., Vol. 5 (1946) p. 113.

[63] R.M. Engberg, B.A.S.O.R., No. 78 (1940) p. 6.

King David. Later without encircling walls for protection, Abu Hawam and Tell Qasile, together with Megiddo, were destroyed in the first third of the tenth century B.C.[64]

During Iron Age I and II there was extensive building of fortified cities and open settlements in the Transjordan and the Jordan Valley.[65] In the Jordan Valley the cities were built on easily fortified and usually isolated hills dominating perennial streams and strategic roads.[66] In the Plains of Moab, sites for towns and fortresses were selected to provide maximum security for their irrigated fields, and the height and strength of the fortress walls suggested that the Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites and Israelites who lived in Transjordan were primarily concerned with security.[67]

After gaining control of Transjordan and subjugating the Edomites, David may have begun to exploit the mines of

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[64] B. Maisler, B.A.S.O.R., No. 124 (1951) p. 23; B.A., Vol. 14 (1951) pp. 46f.

[65] N. Glueck, B.A.S.O.R., No. 122 (1951) p. 18.

[66] G.E. Wright, B.A., Vol. 6 (1943) pp. 33-6. Professor Glueck discovered over thirty sites in the northern half of the eastern side of the Jordan Valley occupied between the thirteenth and sixth centuries B.C.

[67] N. Glueck, B.A.S.O.R., Vol. 91 (1943) pp. 16, 25-6; G.E. Wright, B.A., Vol. 6 (1943) p. 64; W.F. Albright, J.B.L., Vol. 63 (1944) p. 227.

Wadi Arabah, though the pottery used in the Arabah continued to be Edomite throughout the Iron Age.[68]

Iron smelting, which had first been discovered in Asia Minor during the Late Bronze Age (circa. 1500-1200 B.C.) and introduced to Palestine by the Philistines, created an economic revolution as its use became common in Israel in the time of David. During the tenth to eighth centuries, one of the major sources of copper and iron in Israel was the Arabah where the refining processes were carried out near the mines.[69]

In the early part of the tenth century David was forced to attack the strong cities in the north to gain control of the Esdraelon and northern Jordan Valley, and it was then that Beth-shan and Megiddo V were destroyed.[70]

The reign of David was characterized by consolidation and expansion. The territory of Israel now included the coastal plain from the Yarkon River possibly to the approaches of Sidon, excluding the territory of Tyre which established a treaty with David.[71] The fact that the Phoenicians directed their attention westward and became a first-rate marine power in the Mediterranean may explain David's seeming disregard for the potential of seafaring and maritime commerce. Archaeological evidence suggests that when David captured the Philistine fortified cities along the Yarkon River, large, open, unfortified settlements grew up which were soon plundered and destroyed at Tell Jerishe and el-Khirbe (Qasile) by sea raiders who penetrated up the river.[72]

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[68] N. Glueck, B.A., Vol. 10 (1947) p. 82.

[69] G.E. Wright, B.A., Vol. 18 (1955) p. 75.

[70] G.E. Wright, B.A., Vol. 13 (1950) p. 44; Cf., A.A.S.O.R., Vol. 21-22 (1943) pp. 2-3.

[71] S. Yeivin, J.Q.R., Vol. 50 (1960) p. 197.

After a long hiatus following the Middle Bronze I period, the Negeb, according to the discoveries of N. Glueck's surveys next contained civilized settlement during the Iron II period extending from the tenth to the sixth centuries B.C. The land was then dotted with fortresses on strategic hilltops overlooking agricultural villages on the slopes. Only after David had beaten back the Amalekites and the other Bedouins of the Negeb were the people of Judah able to exploit the country's southern potential.[73]

Pressure was brought to bear against the Philistines. At Beth-shemesh and Tell Beit Mirsim the first major Israelite fortifications to be discovered in excavation, as fortifications against the Philistines, who had tried to penetrate the Israelite area,[74] were copies of the casemate system which had been developed by the Hittites in Asia Minor between the fifteenth and thirteenth centuries and introduced into Syria.[75] Lachish was rebuilt, and established seemingly together with Beth-shemesh early in the tenth century as provincial capitals.[76] Government storehouses, granaries, and stone-lined silos similarly indicated that Lachish, Beth-shemesh and Megiddo played significant roles in David's administrative system.[77]

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[72] Cf. B. Mazar, I.E.J., Vol. 1 (1950-1) pp. 61ff, 125ff., 194ff.

[73] N. Glueck, B.A., Vol. 22 (1959) pp. 89-91.

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[74] S. Yeivin, op. cit., p. 196; Cf. J.L. Kelso, B.A., Vol. 19 (1956) p. 40. This construction had earlier been used by Saul in his fortress at Gibeah, and also found in eleventh or tenth century repair at Shechem and the Jehu Dynasty fortification of Samaria.

[75] G.E. Wright, B.A., Vol. 18 (1955) pp. 57, 58.

[76] Ibid., p. 10. The excavations revealed the remains of palaces which may have been the residences of provincial officials.

[77] G.E. Wright, B.A., Vol. 4 (1941) p. 12; Vol. 18 (1955) p. 54; F.M. Cross, Jr., and G.E. Wright, J.B.L., Vol. 75 (1956) pp. 216, 225. The size of these buildings so dominated the towns that they could only have been government buildings and therefore suggest the establishment of provincial administration at this time.

Archaeological evidence is in agreement with biblical accounts of Solomon's commercial and industrial endeavors. The peace and wealth which David's diplomacy and conquests had gained are evident in the remains of the subsequent distinct cultural development. Both masonry and pottery improved rapidly.[78] Imports from Phoenicia and Cyprus reappeared, and fortifications and government sponsored constructions betrayed a strong Phoenician influence. This was especially true in the construction of the Temple.[79] A generally fixed form of a four-room house with a row of columns on one or both sides of a court become the typical Israelite residence.[80] In Solomon's three "royal" cities, Hazor, Megiddo, and Gezer, casemate walls were associated with special identical four-buttressed gates.[81] It was not until Solomon's time that Judah was sufficiently strong militarily to incorporate the Negeb within the structure of the kingdom. The Negeb was covered with a network of roads guarded by fortresses and dotted with villages and waystations.[82] Travel and trade flourished internationally. Ezion-geber was established as a strong fort with large storage rooms to serve the needs of the commercial caravans and maritime trade on the Gulf of Aqabah.[83] The port settlement of el-Khirbe (Qasile) was rebuilt with a Government house and fortified with a strong casemate wall. At the same time a small fort (Tell Kudadi) was built at the mouth of the Yarkon River to protect the sea approaches and prevent the type of raid which earlier had destroyed both el-Khirbe and Tell Jerishe.[84]

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[78] J.L. Kelso, B.A., Vol. 19 (1956) p. 40; J. Bright, Interpretation, Vol. 1 (1947) p. 163.

[79] Paul L. Garber, B.A., Vol. 14 (1951) pp. 2-24; J.B.L., Vol. 77 (1958) pp. 123-29. Also see G.E. Wright, B.A., Vol. 4 (1941) pp. 17-31.

[80] W.F. Albright, A.A.S.O.R. Vol. 21-22 (1943) pp. 49ff.

[81] Y. Yadin, I.E.J., Vol. 8 (1958) pp. 80-6; G.E. Wright, B.A., Vol. 21 (1958) pp. 103f.

However, in spite of all the commercial successes of King Solomon, the internal division between Judah and Israel became an established fact and still during Solomon's reign the kingdom began to shrink. Gezer became a fortress on the frontier as Egypt reestablished a supremacy over Philistia. Twenty Galilean towns were given to the Phoenician, King Hiram in payment of a "balance of trade" deficit.[85] Solomon was unable to maintain the other northern borders as Damascus revolted and a new Aram-Damascus monarchy was established, and ultimately became Israel's strongest enemy.[86] With the progressive stratification of society as the royal court and privilege grew with a host of royal functionaries, pensioners, retainers, and harem, and the added expenses which necessitated taxes and the corvée, and the preferential treatment given to Judah, the feeling of rebellion and separation on the part of the northern Israelite tribes was strengthened to erupt with the death of Solomon.[87]

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[82] N. Glueck, H.U.C.A., Vol. 32 (1961) pp. 12f.

[83] N. Glueck, B.A.S.O.R., No. 71 (1938) pp. 3-17; No. 75 (1939) pp. 8-22; No. 79 (1940) pp. 2-18; No. 80 (1940) pp. 3-10; No. 82 (1941) pp. 3-11. B.A., Vol. 22 (1959) pp. 91-94. The assumption that the main structure at Tell el-Kheleifeh was a copper refinery has been abandoned. See, B.A., Vol. 28 (1965) pp. 70-87.

[84] S. Yeivin, J.Q.R., Vol. 50 (1960) pp. 204-5. The establishment of these maritime centers may well indicate that Solomon did not control the area south of the Yarkon and the port of Jaffa.

4. Syncretism in Early Israel

The twelfth and eleventh centuries in Palestine are depicted by the archaeological evidence as disturbed centuries.[88]

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[85] F. Charles Fensham, "The Treaty Between Solomon and Hiram and the Alalakh Tablets" J.B.L., Vol. 79 (1960) pp. 59-60.

[86] Y. Yadin, Hazor II (1960) p. 37, n. 217: "The destruction of Stratum IX, in the city wall was destroyed, is definitely connected with the campaign of Ben-Hadad, King of Aram, about 885 B.C." (Aharoni).

[87] J. Bright, Interpretation, Vol. I (1947) p. 163.

[88] J. Bright, A. History of Israel, p. 154.

Though the biblical material presents the conquest and early settlement as a period of violent struggle between the followers of Baal and the Israelite Yahwists, there have been recent attempts to show that syncretism was more prevalent than has generally been accepted.[89] Since the material culture of Canaan was more highly developed than that of the Israelites, it was natural that the Israelites would incorporate such advances as were available to them. This borrowing which was not limited to technology but included the Canaanite alphabet, poetry forms, instruments and the art to play them, and even religious ritual was considered to be so common that biblical scholars viewed Israel and Canaan so similar that before the prophetic reactionary movement they were virtually indistinguishable.[90] With the movement of the Israelites into Canaanite areas, local residents were absorbed, bringing with them various aspects of their former culture.[91]

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[89] Ibid., p. 156. "It was inevitable that some Israelites should view the agrarian religion as a necessary part of the agrarian life and begin to propitiate the gods of fertility. Others, no doubt, accommodated the worship of Yahweh to that of Ba'al, and even began to confuse the two."

[90] G.E. Wright, B.A., Vol. 6 (1943) pp. 3-5.

[91] E. Danelius, J.N.E.S., Vol. 22 (1963) pp. 191-3. The judge "Shamgar" (as his name implies, "alien" or "permanent resident") may have been a Syrian living within a Canaanite enclave along the Mediterranean coastline within the territory of the Joseph tribes, Ephraim and Manasseh.

The Book of Judges records a period of religious irregularity. It has recently been suggested that this was the reaction between the differing mores attached to the semi-nomadic desert existence on the one hand, and the settled agricultural society of Canaan on the other.[92] Already in 1941, Millar Burrows had suggested that such an encounter forced the re-evaluation of Yahweh, since for the Israelites, Yahweh had yet to prove himself as an agrarian deity.[93] Thus the suggestion is made that a Kulturkampf between the semi-nomad and the settled farmer was responsible for the struggle rather than the Israelite aversion to Baal worship.[94]

Making an effective contrast between the faith of Israel and the religion of Canaan was impossible before the publication of the Ugaritic tablets. Following the publication of the Canaanite literature, René Dussaud, a leading French agnostic and anti-clerical, was the first to stress the impossibility of the view of Wellhausen on the evolution of Israelite religious culture. The contrast between Yahweh and Baal was now clear. While both the followers of Baal and of Yahweh viewed their gods as cosmic in power, Baal was a storm-god and the head of a whole pantheon of deities, while Yahweh was the sole God of the whole universe.[95] Yahweh could no longer be considered as superseding Baal because Yahweh was a chief god of a whole tribe while Baal was merely a term designating a host of local deities, each controlling only a town or vicinity. The new information from Ugarit had broken down the Wellhausen view.[96]

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[92] Frank E. Eakin, Jr., J.B.L., Vol. 84 (1965) p. 409.

[93] Millar Burrows, J.B.R., Vol. 9 (1941) p. 11.

[94] Frank E. Aikin, Jr., op. cit., p. 141. At Shechem, there was no apparent hostility between the two groups though it was a center of Baal worship.

At the time of the Israelite conquest, the sedentary culture they encountered represented the lowest religious level in Canaanite history, and consequently the penetration of Canaanite culture, as reflected in Israelite cultural remains appeared in later waves of Phoenician influence.[97] The early reaction of the Israelites against the Canaanite religion may well be reflected in the scarcity of Astarte plaques or figurines in the Israelite levels of Iron I in central Palestine which is in striking contrast to their frequency in corresponding deposits of the Late Bronze and Iron II (from the ninth century and later) in the excavations at Bethel, Gibeah, Tell en-Naṣbeh and Shiloh.[98] However, as contacts between the cultures increased, the large numbers of figurines, probably representing mother-goddesses and fertility-goddesses in Canaanite religion, found in Israelite sites, indicated clearly the evident syncretism among the common people.[99] Following the destruction of the Canaanite city, two phases of Israelite occupation existed on the mound of Hazor before the construction of Solomon's city. This small Israelite settlement which was apparently without a city wall contained an idolatrous Israelite cult place, (the first ever found in Palestine), similar in shape to the Canaanite shrine found in Megiddo (Stratum VI from the eleventh century B.C.)[100]

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[95] Even before the discovery and publication of the Ugaritic tablets, Albright had insisted that the leading Canaanite deities, such as Baal, were "high gods" and not merely vegetable spirits or local deities. W.F. Albright, Religion in Life, Vol. 21 (1952) pp. 544-5.

[96] Ibid., p. 545. "Nothing can alter the now certain fact that the gulf between the religions of Israel and of Canaan was as great as the resemblance between their material cultures and their poetic literatures.

[97] John L. McKenzie, C.B.Q., Vol. 14 (1952) p. 129; Cf., W.F. Albright, Archaeology and the Religion of Israel, p. 94.

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[98] Albright, op. cit., p. 114.

[99] G.E. Wright, B.A., Vol. 10 (1947) pp. 21-22. Also, B.A., Vol. 6 (1943) p. 16; Cf., B.A. Brooks, J.B.L. Vol. 60 (1941) p. 227.

[100] Such shrines existed in many parts of Israel during the pre-monarchial period according to Judges 18. Y. Yadin, B.A., Vol. 22 (1959) p. 12.

The paganizing influence was advanced by Solomon through his profitable alliances, especially with Tyre, the center of Canaanite-Phoenician culture, and his marriages, establishing political unions with adjoining nations, which culminated in the fostering of the native religions of the wives in Jerusalem. Even the design, and much of the symbolism, of Solomon's temple was borrowed from Syro-Phoenician patterns.[101]

The complete absence of images of Yahweh in excavated Israelite cultural levels is in agreement with the aniconic character of Yahweh in Mosaic religion.[102] As archaeology has provided more information for the understanding of contemporary polytheisms,[103] the distinctiveness of Israel's religious role among the ancient religions has been emphasized to the point where it cannot be delineated entirely by evolutionary criteria.[104] The religion of Israel has been distinguished from the religion of Canaan by the portions of Canaanite literature discovered in excavations at Ugarit. Israel's religion, clearly a mutation in comparison with the contemporary polytheistic religions and sufficiently strong to overpower the Canaanite religion in spite of some syncretism, can only be explained by a creative and normative period in the desert before the conquest.[105] However, while the Israelites did not hesitate to borrow and adapt Canaanite music to their own purposes, and the Hebrew poetic literature is filled with close parallels to the Canaanite sources, the Hebrews did not take over Canaanite religious traditions.[106] Sacredotal and sacrificial legislation with no traces of human sacrifice and the ritual prostitution of the sexes, and the whole spirit of Mosaic sacrifice is separate from Canaanite practices.

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[101] G.E. Wright, B.A., Vol. 4 (1941) pp. 17-31; John Bright, Interpretation, Vol. 1 (1947) p. 166.

[102] John L. McKenzie, C.B.Q., Vol. 14 (1952) p. 330. "The Hebrews did not make images of Yahweh. What we gather from the Old Testament is confirmed by Palestinian archaeology. ...the testimony of our written sources, plus the completely negative results of excavation, should be evidence enough to prove that Yahwehism was essentially aniconic and that material representations were foreign to its spirit from the beginning." While this is obviously an overstatement, G.E. Wright is in basic agreement. See G.E. Wright, B.A., Vol. 10 (1947) p. 21, "...though the statues of male deities are frequently found in Canaanite sites, not a single clear example has thus far been found within the tons and tons of debris removed from Israelites sites. The evidence in this case is so striking that it cannot be dismissed as a questionable argument from silence. The basic character and antiquity of the second commandment thus receives as strong a support as archaeology will probably ever be able to provide for it."

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[103] John Bright, Interpretation, Vol. 1 (1947) p. 165.

[104] G.E. Wright, B.A., Vol. 10 (1947) p. 22.

[105] F.M. Cross, Jr., B.A., Vol. 10 (1947) p. 51.

[106] W.F. Albright, C.B.Q., Vol. 7 (1945) p. 27.

Further the Ras Shamra texts have revealed that some of the ritualistic prohibitions of the Hebrews were established because of the ritualistic practices of the Canaanites.[107] The degree to which there was an adoption and adaptation of Canaanite concepts and practices by Israel has been a matter of lengthy discussion by various scholars.[108]

The legal collections of the Pentateuch, in Exodus and Deuteronomy, may well contain material which came from Mesopotamia through the Canaanite culture.[109] With the spread of Mesopotamian influence, cuneiform legal systems spread westward to Ugarit where legal contracts were conducted in Babylonian prior to the arrival of the Hebews in Palestine.[110] However the Canaanite law was of a far different sort and the Canaanite culture was at variance with the Covenant Code.[111] The laws of the Covenant Code reflect rather the customs, morality and religious obligations of the Israelites prior to the establishment of the monarchy which was the event that brought about the codification.[112] Israel borrowed and selectively modified the laws of Hammurabi, Hittite and Assyrian codes for her own needs.[113]

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[107] J. Philip Hyatt, J.B.R., Vol. 10 (1942) pp 71f.

[108] H.G. May, J.B.L., Vol. 60 (1941) pp. 113-128; J.B.R., Vol. 9 (1941) pp. 155-158; Journal of Religion, Vol. 21 (1941) pp. 285-299; Millar Burrows, J.B.R., Vol. 9 (1941) pp. 10-16. W.G. Williams, The Iliff Review, Vol. 2 (1945) p. 172.

[109] Cyrus H. Gordon, Encounter, Vol. 21 (1960) p. 157.

[110] Walter G. Williams, The Iliff Review, Vol. 2 (1945) p. 172.

[111] B.D. Napier, Interpretation, Vol. 7 (1953) p 404.

5. The Dating of Early Documents

During the past thirty years, because of the great difficulty of finding a satisfactory "*Sitz im Leben*" for them after the Exile, and influence by the Gunkel School, an increasing tendency among scholars was to date most of the Psalms before the Babylonian Exile.[114] This tendency to change was minor compared with the effect of the decipherment and interpretation of the Ugaritic epics following 1931. Not only had archaeological data provided the evidence for the establishment of a chronological framework of Israelite history, but also the comparative material making possible a more adequate dating of the literary forms of the Bible. Dated to the first three or four decades of the fourteenth century B.C., the Ugaritic texts were extensive, preserving over 9,000 words in extant Ugaritic poetic literature, compared with approximately 18,000 words in the Hebrew Psalter.[115]

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[112] George E. Mendenhall, *B.A.*, Vol. 17 (1954) pp. 36-6. Cf., F.M. Cross, *B.A.*, Vol. 10 (1947) p. 51.

[113] G.E. Wright, *B.A.*, Vol. 6 (1943) p. 18.

[114] K. Stendahl, "Implications of Form-Criticism and Tradition-Criticism for Biblical Interpretation" *J.B.L.*, Vol. 77 (1958) pp. 33-38. Gunkel advocated a synthesis of the history of literature based upon literary types (*Gattungen*) which were normal in Israel. His literary-historical method could only be applied to the smallest units, (i.e., the single narrative, saying, poem, etc.) and viewed personal or individual elements as secondary. (H. Gunkel, "Die Israelitische Literatur" in *Kultur der Gegenwart*, ed. by Hinneberg, Part I Section VII (1906), pp. 51-102; (1925), pp. 53-112.) Also, Joseph L. Mihelic, *J.B.R.*, Vol. 19 (1951) pp. 120-129. The publication of Gunkel's *Schöpfung and Chaos* in 1895, which utilized archaeological findings, gave rise to the so-called "School of History of Religion." See, S. Mowinckel, *Prophecy and Tradition*, Oslo: Jacob Dybwad, 1946, p. 14.

Much light was shed on the evolution of Hebrew poetic forms through the study of Ugaritic verse.[116] W.F. Albright was the first to develop new procedures for the analysis and dating of the earliest Old Testament poetry through the application of knowledge drawn from Phoenician and Israelite orthography and a comparison of material drawn from the Ugaritic mythological tablets. It was shown that the use of a defective orthography in Phoenicia and Early Israel, which was replaced during the ninth century B.C. by the standard spelling of the Divided Monarchy, resulted in many instances in defective spelling at the end of words (e.g., Psalms, the Oracles of Balaam,[117] The Blessing of Moses,[118] etc.) and now indicates an early date of composition.[119] Professor Albright, therefore, has dated the original Israelite poems and adaptations of Canaanite sources between the thirteenth and the tenth centuries B.C.[120] The Oracles of Balaam[121] in their original form were shown to date from the thirteenth or twelfth century B.C.[122]

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[115] W.F. Albright, H.U.C.A., Vol. 23 (1950-51) pp. 2f.

[116] Since characteristic Ugaritic forms such as climatic or repetitive parallelisms are very common in the Song of Deborah and the Song of Miriam, dated between 1300 and 1100 B.C., but disappear in later books such as Job, the Ugaritic literature has become a useful criterion for the dating of poetic literature.

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[117] W.F. Albright, J.B.L., Vol. 62 (1944) pp. 207-233. An early date for the Oracles of Balaam also is suggested, since, like the Song of Miriam, there is no mention of Ammon while Moab and Edom are mentioned. Note, H.U.C.A., Vol. 23 (1951) p. 10.

[118] Frank M. Cross, Jr. and David N. Freedman, J.B.L., Vol. 67 (1948) pp. 191-210.

[119] The antiquity of the story of Balaam received additional credence from the fact that his homeland 'MW (Numbers 22:5) is found mentioned in Egyptian and cuneiform texts of the 15th century B.C. W.F. Albright, B.A.S.O.R., No. 118 (1950) p. 16.

[120] W.F. Albright, H.U.C.A., Vol. 23 (1951) p. 10.

[121] Numbers 22-24.

[122] W.F. Albright, "The Oracles of Balaam" J.B.L., Vol. 63 (1944) pp. 207-234. Cf., James A. Wharton, Interpretation, Vol. 13 (1959) p. 38.

Similarly, the Song of Deborah,[123] the Song of Moses,[124] and Psalm 18[125] were shown to antedate the United Kingdom, and the Blessings of Jacob[126] and Psalm 68, to antedate the prophetic movement of the eighth century B.C. Thus a corpus of literature which reflects Davidic and pre-Davidic theology was identified in which the basic aspects of prophetic religion were already present.[127]

Together with the Pentateuchal poetry which was assigned to the earlier dates, many of the Psalms were recognized as containing so much Canaanite material that they could well be treated as Israelite adaptations of Canaanite (pre-Israelite) hymns to Baal. Psalm 68, filled with archaic expressions, only recently clarified by Canaanite parallels, was identified as a catalog of early Israelite hymns and lyric poems composed between the thirteenth and the tenth centuries, instead of during the Maccabean period as it had previously been dated. Such comparative research has necessitated the assigning of earlier dates to much of the Psalter.[128]

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[123] Judges 5. G.E. Wright, B.A., Vol. 13 (1950) p. 38. If the victory described in the Song occurred at a time when Megiddo was in ruins, unoccupied as a city, as Professor Albright believed, then Deborah's Song should be dated between 1150 and 1125 B.C., during the interval between Strata VIII and VI.

[124] Deuteronomy 33.

[125] II Samuel 22.

[126] Genesis 49. W.F. Albright, Religion in Life, Vol. 21 (1952) pp. 543f. The Blessings of Jacob and the Song of Moses are to be dated no later than the eleventh century B.C.

[127] F.M. Cross, Jr., B.A., Vol. 10 (1947) p. 50.

The great value of the comparative study of the Ugaritic tablets was not limited to the determination of the dates of Israelite poetic forms. A better understanding of the exact meanings of many Hebrew words has been possible through the new roots which have been added to the lexicon.[129] New meanings were discovered for old roots and distinctive overtones have been given to old meanings. Parallels may be found not only in the vocabulary, syntax, and modes of expression of the literature, but also in ideas and institutions as has already been indicated.[130] Thus the archaeologist, in providing this comparative literature, has greatly assisted the literary scholar in his task.

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[128] W.F. Albright, op. cit., p. 544.

[129] H. Neil Richardson, J.B.R., Vol. 20 (1952) pp. 172-4. A check of the glossary of Cyrus H. Gordon's Ugaritic Handbook, Part III, Comprehensive Glossary. Rome: Pontificum Institutum Biblicum, 1947, reveals that more than sixty-five percent of the Ugaritic words are cognate with the Hebrew vocabulary.

[130] Ibid., p. 175.

The challenge of synthesizing the flow of related data from the archaeological excavations has instilled new life into the study of the period of the Judges and United Monarchy.

Contributing to the insights into the cultural transition from the impoverished tribes which first penetrated the central hill country in Palestine to the opulence of the Solomonic splendor and commercial and economic endeavor, archaeological evidence has traced the infiltration of Israelite groups into the unoccupied areas of Canaanite control along the Mediterranean coast and the Upper Galilee, clarified the choatic conditions which erupted in the seeming indiscriminate destruction of towns and settlements during the period of the Judges, and indicated the nature of Davidic expansion and Solomonic control. Comparative study of cultural remains (e.g., Megiddo, Tell Abu Hawam, and Tell Qasile) defined the date of Israelite expansionist activities during the time of David. Ceramic remains traced the population distributions and cultural changes within the Philistine Plain, and while usually providing evidence for accepting traditional names of city sites, survey and excavation on occasion demonstrated that historically-accepted identifications should be rejected (e.g., Gath).

Increasingly evidence of cultural and religious syncretism within Israel has come not only through a comparative study of biblical literature and the Ugaritic tablets, but from excavation where figurines, cult objects, and even cult places very similar to Canaanite shrines, have suggested the prominence of borrowing from the Canaanite culture. This borrowing was however not limited to the cultural religious aspects, but included alphabet, vocabulary, grammar and literary forms which have been used in the development of procedures for the analysis and dating of Old Testament poetry. Studies employing these comparative procedures have forced the revision of the late dates formerly assigned to much biblical poetry.

However, while archaeological artifacts and epigraphical materials from excavations have their own intrinsic value for the biblical scholar, the major contribution of the archaeologist in providing these materials is in the clarification which they have provided to the meanings of words, idioms, descriptions, situations, customs, rituals, and the whole cultural and historical background of the biblical narrative. They have provided the "life" situation, which for most biblical scholars, in the least, has made the biblical narrative credible.

IX. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has shown that early interest in Palestinian antiquities was an outgrowth of the pilgrimages by religiously-oriented individuals to sites of biblical significance. The topographical studies which followed were directed at the scholarly identification of ancient sites for the purpose of mapping the country. Though early excavation was directed toward the removal of monuments and other artifacts for museums in Europe, the seeming cultural poverty of the area soon indicated that the importance of Palestinian archaeology lay in more scientific approaches to excavation. The beginning of this new direction began with Sir Flinders Petrie's application of the principles of sequence dating and the chronological correlations he established through a comparison of Egyptian and Palestinian ceramics. The success and lasting value of the British, German, French and American expeditions which conducted large excavations at many of the major sites of the country before the beginning of World War II was directly proportional to the meticulous scientific approach to the smallest artifacts and ceramic remains.

The study of archaeological activity in Palestine from 1940 to 1965 indicated that following cessation of foreign participation during World War II, mostly minor salvage operations were continued by local scholars. However, following World War II and the subsequent political disturbances which culminated in the establishment of the States of Israel and Jordan with their independent Department of Antiquities, the combined effort soon had expanded to exceed archaeological activity before the war. While Jordan, with few trained archaeologists, was largely dependent upon foreign expeditions throughout the period, Israel, with the fully trained archaeological staff of the Hebrew University, and others, was enabled to initiate an effective and extensive archaeological program before foreign institutions renewed their participation. There was, however, a marked change in the emphasis as more and more excavations were intent on the recovery of those aspects of Palestinian culture which had previously been overlooked or neglected. Significant discoveries of prehistoric remains in the Carmel Range, the Judean Hills, and the Jordan Valley before World War II had pushed back the chronological scope of archaeological potential to entice archaeologists to concentrate their efforts, where possible, on the recovery of pre-biblical cultures. Consequently, at least one-fourth of the major excavations conducted between 1940 and 1965 were at sites with only Chalcolithic and earlier remains.

This study shows that as a result of this emphasis, evident in both Jordan and Israel, a comprehensive survey of Palestinian culture has been made possible within a widely-accepted chronological table from the Mesolithic period (circa. 10,000 to 8,000 B.C.) through the biblical era. But more than this, attention was directed to the peripheral areas, like the Transjordanian Plateau, the Negeb and Upper Galilee, where surveys provided valuable information concerning the date and nature of the Patriarchal period, and the conquest by, and the settlement of, the Israelite tribes.

With this background concerning the history, extent and results of Palestinian archaeology, the study shows the ways in which this information from archaeological excavation and research has been used in the interpretation of the biblical narratives from the patriarchal period to the end of the United Kingdom. This investigation included 300 articles appearing from 1940 to 1965 in twelve major scholarly periodicals and selected writings from other quarterlies.

This investigation, further has revealed that within interpretive writing on biblical topics in these periodicals, a stratum of awareness and a consistent recognition of the contribution of archaeological endeavor is evident. Though few writers would maintain that archaeology must be assigned a preeminent place among those forces which serve to explain the present status of Old Testament studies, it becomes clear from this study that recent reconstructions of the history of ancient Israel, or various aspects of that history, have drawn heavily on archaeological evidence. Moreover, it has become clear that though archaeological evidence, because of its indirect and illustrative nature, has often provided the bases for varying interpretations which at times have been hotly debated (e.g., the Exodus and Conquest), it is presently unthinkable for scholars to discuss these aspects of biblical history without reference to archaeological data. This is not to say that archaeology has replaced a responsible, critical approach to the literary records. It does mean that biblical interpretation is considered inadequate on a purely literary level.

From this study it is evident that in the early 1940's the final remnants of deep-seated conflicts were still evident between the liberal scholars who questioned the validity of archaeological data on the basis of former fraudulent examples of discovery and the conservative scholars who found in archaeological materials not only illumination but confirmation for the relevant biblical narratives. Accusations for premature, exaggerated conclusions were counterbalanced by accusations of an intentional ignoring of valid data. While suspicions concerning the objectivity of biblical archaeologists have been allayed more recently largely by the wealth of biblically-related information coming from archaeological endeavors and the more scientific approach and more cautious evaluation of archaeological data by the archaeologist, such positions highlighted the extremes of approach in the application of archaeology to biblical studies at the time. The basic question involved was the specific role which archaeology should assume in biblical interpretation.

Though developing within the common spirit of objectivity and scientific approach, the role of archaeology within biblical studies was largely circumscribed by the attitude of exclusivism which was characteristic of the literary criticism of the Wellhausen School. This school of thought by means of literary criticism had reconstructed Israel's history on developmental lines on the assumption that the collection of traditions revealed the period of composition rather than the age from which they were supposed to have come. Thus a major portion of the law, most psalms, and all of the wisdom literature were attributed to the post-exilic period, making that the most creative era in Old Testament history. However, Professor W.F. Albright, whose writings probably constituted the most significant attack against Wellhausenism in the

United States, was able to show that this reconstructed developmental scheme of the history of Israel did not correspond with the archaeological evidence. The material culture of the Middle and Late Bronze periods had been far from primitive, and early Israel, as a part of the world which produced it, would certainly have reflected the same sophisticated institutional form of religion. This failure of the Wellhausen reconstruction of Israelite history and religion highlighted the necessity in literary criticism of external criteria which the archaeologist was endeavoring to supply. This study has shown that one of the deepest continuing divisions in biblical scholarship is the comparative value which should be placed on external (especially archaeological) and the internal data, or types of literary study of Israel's traditions, preserved in the Old Testament.

With the realization among biblical scholars that studies committed exclusively to literary criticism could only yield diminishing returns, archaeological studies claimed a new emphasis in the scientific approach to biblical history and provided new avenues of scholarly endeavor. A total diversification of emphases and approaches in biblical interpretation was directed toward comparative, sociological, historical and theological studies. This compartmentalized direction in study has more recently been amalgamated in such a way that most of the aspects served together in the clarification of the historical and cultural background of the biblical narratives. This investigation has indicated that the recovery of the prototypes of the ideas, institutions, and movements displayed in the biblical records called for the re-evaluation and more cautious approach to the techniques of documentary analysis.

This study shows that the archaeological evidence is presented as finding limited acceptance in other areas of interpretation as well. While accepting the basic Wellhausen documentary hypothesis, the Alt School, on the basis of territorial history and comparative legal and political forms, superseded the Wellhausen reconstruction of the history of Israel by establishing the twelve-tribe federation or league (amphictyony), with cultic, legal and political traditions, as the beginning of Israel's history and religion. However, since the unifying elements of the earlier traditions, i.e., the patriarchal period, the Exodus, Sinai and the Conquest, were all considered later and artificial, a negativistic attitude was evident toward all archaeological data pertaining to these periods. Once committed by an internal tradition-history analysis to the beginning of a unified Israel during the period of the Judges, M. Noth found a conquest by the twelve tribes of Israel inconceivable and consequently any archaeological evidence for such an event not only irrelevant but impossible. Thus in an interpretative approach where etiology became a prominent element, archaeological data lost its relevance.

For the Albright School, the sole use of internal form-critical and tradition-history methodology in historical reconstruction seemed too artificial and subjective to be convincing. While literary criticism formed an indispensable aspect in the introductory study of written documents, historical reconstruction from this source was considered impossible, since external points of reference are needed to assess the historical value of a tradition. To the archaeologically-oriented Albright School, the harmony between the archaeological evidence of destruction levels in city mounds in Palestine and the descriptions of such destructions (i.e., during the Conquest under Joshua) in the biblical narratives seemed too striking to be only coincidental.

The study has shown that the leading biblical scholars most firmly committed to the use of archaeological data have similar views concerning the Scriptures. Professor C.H. Gordon is convinced that while there are specific historical problems which require further research, it is a waste of time to question the general historicity of the historical books in the Bible and no reputable historian of antiquity may fail to reckon with the historicity of Scripture.[1] Similarly, Professor W.F. Albright sees the rediscovery of the Bible by the archaeologist and philologian as demonstrating the substantial historicity of biblical traditions to the point that the Bible can now be treated from beginning to end as an authentic document of religious history.[2]

The study has shown therefore that there is a direct correlation between the role which archaeological data assumes in biblical interpretation and the premise that the biblical record maintains a historical reliability. For when the historical trustworthiness of the biblical narratives was doubted by the Wellhausen School, archaeological data were largely ignored. In relying heavily on etiology for an explanation of the early narratives of the Bible, the Alt School views archaeological data as inapplicable. And when the narratives are viewed as the worship forms of early Israel, rather than historical records, as with the cultic or liturgical movement (e.g., J. Pedersen, G. von Rad), the consideration of archaeological data is foreign.

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[1] C.H. Gordon, Encounter, Vol. 21 (1960), p. 137.

[2] W.F. Albright. History, Archaeology and Christian Humanism. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964, pp. 29, 295f.

But the study equally shows that the use of archaeological data may also be circumscribed by biblical scholars committed to a literal historical interpretation of the details of the biblical narratives (e.g. M.F. Unger, R.M. Earle, Jr.,). Where there is seeming disagreement with accepted biblical interpretation, archaeological evidence is equally rejected, disregarded, or, at least, considered inconclusive, while it is simultaneously claimed that conservatives eagerly embrace archaeology.

The re-discovery of a historical continuity in the biblical record, to which archaeology contributed, justified the renewal of extended study beyond the history of fragmented narratives and the history which they portrayed to the concepts and ideas which prompted their selection. This renewal of interest in the theological approach to the Old Testament was not directed to the establishment and maintenance of dogmatic systems, though the temptation seemed inherent, but was directed to a biblical theology based ~~on~~ the critical evaluation of all the evidence, whatever its source, bearing on the individual narrative. Thus while archaeology has no primary bearing on theological issues, this study has shown that archaeological evidence assumed an essential role in establishing the cultural and historical situation for accurate interpretation.

In the interpretive writing during the years 1940 to 1965, the diversity of scholars' emphases and approaches was especially evident in the treatment of the Patriarchal Period. The use of archaeological data was largely limited to epigraphical materials recovered beyond the boundaries of Palestine, though Professor Glueck and others claimed that the anepigraphical remains of the Middle Bronze I (*circa*. 2100-1900 B.C.) settlements in the Negeb and Transjordan were conclusive evidence of the time in which the Patriarchs moved between Palestine and Egypt. The reconstructions of the period indicated that conclusive evidence for one scholar became irrelevant when the problem of recovering the cultural and historical picture of Abraham and his descendents was approached on the basis of different suppositions. Thus, while the Middle Bronze I settlements became an integral aspect of Professor Albright's reconstruction in which Abraham is part of a vast commercial system of donkey-caravans, they are irrelevant to Professor Gordon's reconstruction of the Patriarchs during the Amarna Age (Fifteenth to Fourteenth Centuries B.C.) in which Abraham still plays a merchant role as a Hittite prince.

The study has shown that the epigraphical materials from Mari, Alalakh, Nuzu and Ugarit shedding light on the social, economic, religious and legal aspects of life during the Second Millenium B.C., formed the major basis for interpretive writing on the patriarchs. The clarification of the cultural environment of the ancient Near East from these studies claimed a general historicity for the patriarchs as real persons moving about in a complex society. The earlier designations to them as eponyms, or astral and lunar deities became increasingly sparse, and the nomadic ideal which evolved from an earlier emphasis on Arabic studies which had been so closely identified with the patriarchal character, faded in later reconstructions of the period.

In the interpretive writing on the Period of the Exodus and the Conquest, epigraphical materials from Egypt and the North again provided not only the proto-types and parallels of the legal, social and religious institutions of early Israel, but a clarification of the political and cultural character of Canaan immediately prior to the conquest. The study has shown the importance attached to archaeological data in the intensity of discussion and the involved reconstructions which attempted to incorporate all of the biblical and extra-biblical materials for the period of the Conquest and Settlement. Continued excavation and survey during the past twenty-five year period not only corrected earlier archaeological misinterpretations (i.e., faulty dating of the destruction of Jericho), but validated other evidence of a conquest during the latter part of the Thirteenth Century B.C., which called for a widespread revision of formerly accepted chronological schemes for the Exodus and the Conquest.

The study has shown the growing importance of anepigraphical materials in the reconstruction of Israelite history following the Conquest. Having demonstrated the extent of the destruction of the early military endeavors, physical remains traced the infiltration and settlement of Israelites in new areas, the extent of syncretism and the unsettled conditions during the times of the Judges, and the general improvement of culture and commerce following the establishment of the Monarchy.

Meanwhile, the Ugaritic tablets in clarifying Canaanite religion became most important in attempts to conform the extent of syncretism in the social and religious structure of early Israel. The study has also shown the importance of the Ugaritic literature in comparative, linguistic studies in establishing original meanings and distinctive overtones to words, clarifying syntax and modes of expression, and dating of Hebrew poetic forms.

From this study of periodical literature, it is concluded that archaeological research has contributed to a change in the basic literary approach to Biblical studies, that this change has resulted in a wide diversity of approaches and emphases in interpretation, and, that in that diversity, the biblical scholar, regardless of his emphasis, has not adequately interpreted a biblical narrative until he has considered the relevant archaeological data.

ABBREVIATIONS

A.A.S.O.R.	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
A.D.A.J.	Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan
A.J.A.	American Journal of Archaeology
A.J.S.L.	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature
A.N.Q.	Andover-Newton Quarterly
ATIQOT	Journal of the Israel Department of Antiquities
A.T.R.	Anglican Theological Review
B.A.	Biblical Archaeologist, The
B.A.S.O.R.	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
B.S.	Bibliotheca Sacra
C.B.Q.	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
C.J.T.	Canadian Journal of Theology
D.D.S.R.	Duke Divinity School Review
D.G.	Drew Gateway
E.I.	*Eretz Israel*. Annual of the Israel Exploration Society
F.S.	Franciscan Studies
H.T.R.	Harvard Theological Review
H.U.C.A.	Hebrew Union College Annual
I.E.J.	Israel Exploration Journal

I.R.	Iliff Review, The
J.A.O.S.	Journal of the American Oriental Society
J.B.L.	Journal of Biblical Literature
J.B.R.	Journal of Bible and Religion
J.N.E.S.	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
J.P.O.S.	Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society
J.Q.R.	Jewish Quarterly Review
J.R.	Journal of Religion
J.R.T.	Journal of Religious Thought
P.E.Q.	Palestine Exploration Quarterly
P.S.T.J.	Perkins School of Theology Journal
Q.D.A.P.	Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine
R.B.	Revue Biblique
R.I.L.	Religion in Life
R.R.	Review of Religion
T.A.L.	Theology and Life
T.S.	Theological Studies
T.T.	Theology Today
U.S.Q.R.	Union Seminary Quarterly Review
V.T.	Vetus Testamentum
W.T.J.	Westminster Theological Journal

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APPENDIX

A. PRINCIPAL JOURNALS USED IN THIS STUDY:*

American Schools of Oriental Research Annual.
New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research.

American Schools of Oriental Research Bulletin.
New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research.

Biblical Archaeologist, The.
New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research.

Catholic Biblical Quarterly.
Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America.

Harvard Theological Review.
Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Hebrew Union College Annual.
Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College.

Interpretation: A Journal of Bible and Theology.
Richmond: Union Theological Seminary.

Jewish Quarterly Review, The.
Philadelphia: The Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning.

Journal of the American Oriental Society.
New Haven: American Oriental Society.

Journal of Bible and Religion.
Chambersburg, Pa.: American Academy of Religion.

Journal of Biblical Literature.
Philadelphia: Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis.

Journal of Near Eastern Studies.
Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

*This list includes the twelve major journals containing the articles on the descriptive and interpretive use of archaeological data in the discussion of Old Testament events, institutions and concepts. These articles formed the primary sources of this study. The list which follows (B) includes twenty-two periodicals representing educational institutions and major denominational groups from which relevant articles were selected to become a part of this study.

B. OTHER PERIODICALS USED IN THIS STUDY:

American Journal of Archaeology.
New York: Archaeological Institute of America.

Andover-Newton Quarterly.
Newton Center, Mass.: Andover-Newton Theological Seminary.

Anglican Theological Review.
Evanston: Episcopal Church and Anglican Communion.

Archaeology.
New York: Archaeological Institute of America.

Bibliotheca Sacra, a theological quarterly.
Dallas: Dallas Theological Seminary and Graduate School of Theology.

Canadian Journal of Theology.
Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Drew Gateway, a journal of comment and criticism.
Madison, N.J.: Drew Theological Seminary.

Duke Divinity School Review, The.
Durham: Duke University.

Encounter.
Indianapolis: Christian Theological Seminary.

Franciscan Studies.
Bonaventure, N.Y.: St. Bonaventure University.

Iliff Review.
Denver: Criterion Press, Inc.

Journal of Religion.
Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Journal of Religious Thought.
Washington: School of Religion, Howard University.

Perkins School of Religion, Journal.
Dallas: Southern Methodist University.

Religion in Life.
Nashville: Abington Press.

Review of Religion.
New York: Columbia University Press.

Theological Studies.
Woodstock, Md.: Theological Faculties, Society of Jesus in the United States.

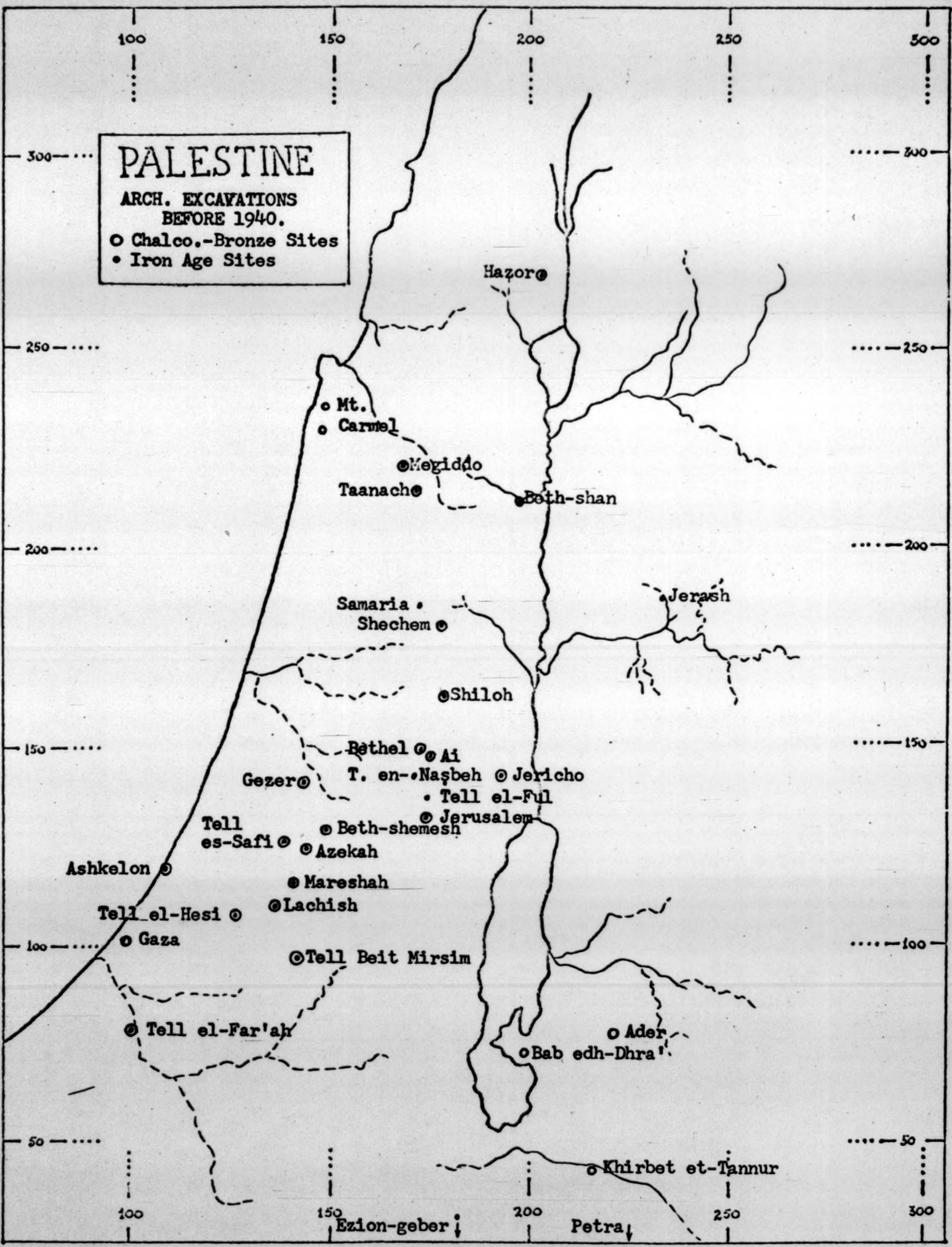
Theology and Life.
Lancaster, Pa.: Lancaster Theological Seminary.

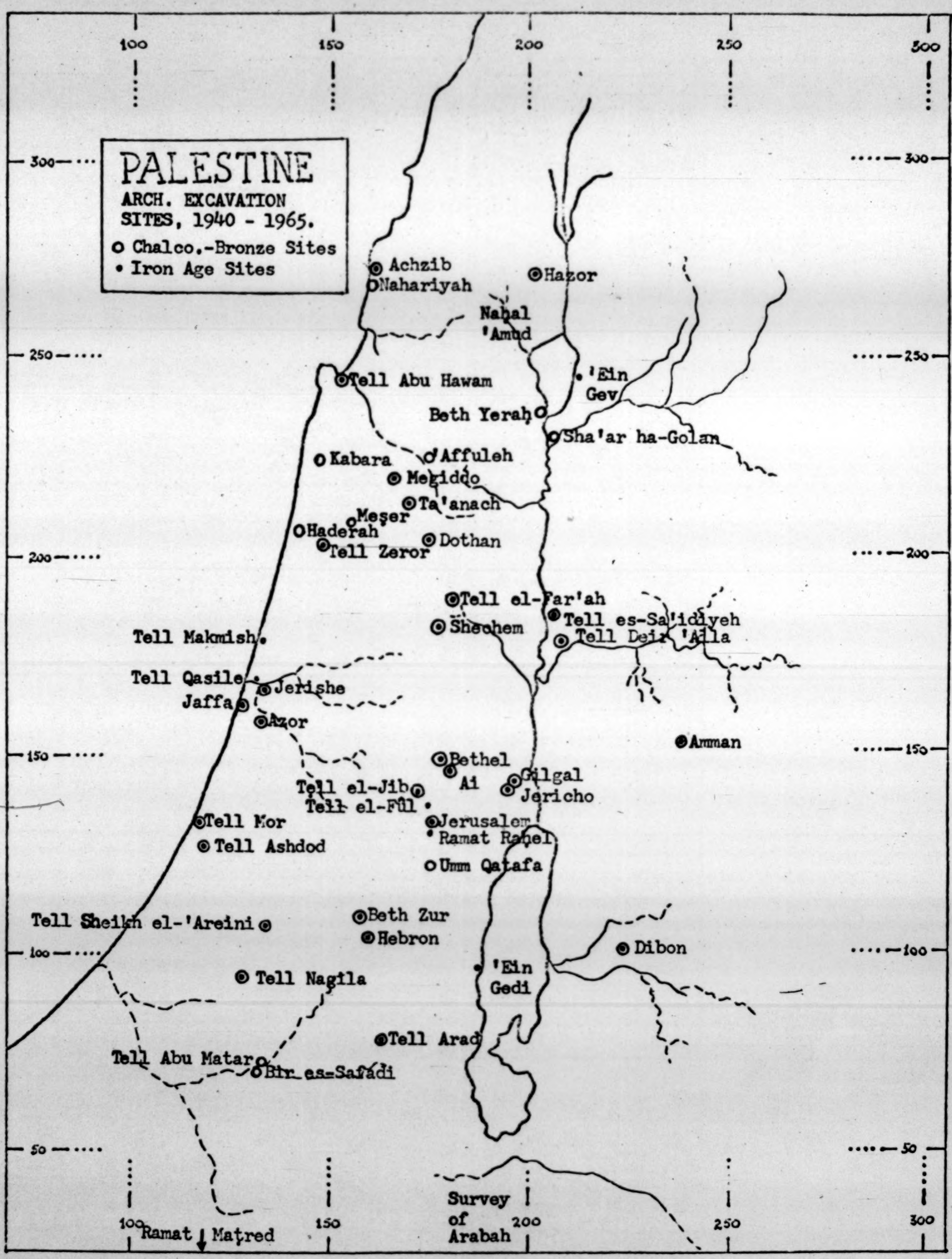
Theology Today.
Princeton: Theology Today.

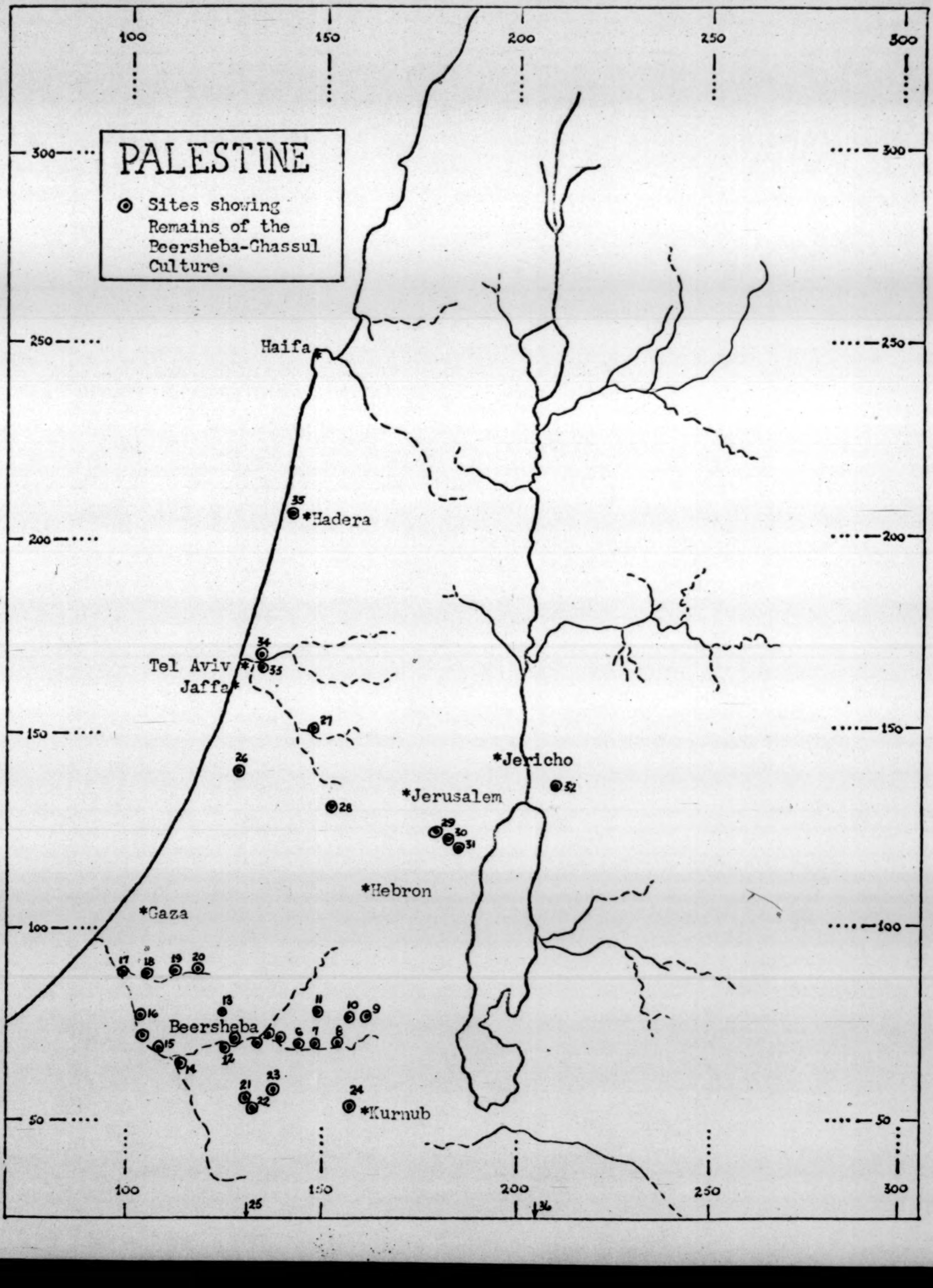
Thomist, a speculative quarterly review of theology and philosophy.
Washington: Dominican Fathers, Province of St. Joseph.

Union Seminary Quarterly Review.
New York: Union Theological Seminary.

Westminster Theological Journal.
Philadelphia: Westminster Theological Seminary.


PALESTINE
ARCH. EXCAVATIONS
BEFORE 1940.
o Chalco.-Bronze Sites
• Iron Age Sites
100
150
200
250
300
Hazor
Mt.
Carmel
Megiddo
Taanach
Beth-shan
Samaria
Shechem
Jerash
Shiloh
Bethel
Ai
T. en-Naṣbeh
Jericho
Gezer
Tell el-Ful
Jerusalem
Tell
es-Safi
Beth-shemesh
Azekah
Ashkelon
Mareshah
Lachish
Tell el-Hesi
Gaza
Tell Beit Mirsim
Tell el-Far'ah
Ader
Bab edh-Dhra'
Khirbet et-Tannur
Ezion-geber
Petra
50


PALESTINE
ARCH. EXCAVATION SITES, 1940 - 1965.
○ Chalco.-Bronze Sites
• Iron Age Sites
100
150
200
250
300
50
Achzib
Nahariyah
Hazor
Nahal 'Amud
Tell Abu Hawam
'Ein Gev
Beth Yerah
Sha'ar ha-Golan
Kabara
Affuleh
Megiddo
Ta'anach
Meser
Haderah
Tell Zeror
Dothan
Tell el-Far'ah
Tell es-Sa'idiyeh
Shechem
Tell Deir 'Alla
Tell Makmish
Tell Qasile
Jerishe
Jaffa
Azor
Amman
Bethel
Ai
Gilgal
Jericho
Tell el-Jib
Tell el-Ful
Jerusalem
Ramat Rahel
Umm Qatafa
Tell Mor
Tell Ashdod
Tell Sheikh el-'Areini
Beth Zur
Hebron
Dibon
'Ein Gedi
Tell Nagila
Tell Arad
Tell Abu Matar
Bir es-Safadi
Ramat Matred
Survey of Arabah


PALESTINE
Sites showing Remains of the Beersheba-Ghassul Culture.
Haifa
Hadera
Tel Aviv
Jaffa
Jericho
Jerusalem
Hebron
Gaza
Beersheba
Kurnub
100
150
200
250
300
50
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
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31
32
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34
35
36

Sites of the Beersheba-Ghassul Culture:*

1. Abu Matar
2. Safadi
3. Khirbet el-Bitar
4. Bir el-Ibrahim
5. (Near Hill 303)
6. Tell es-Sab'
7. Tell Abu Mishash
8. Tell Malḥatha (el-Milḥ)
9. Tell 'Arad
10. Ḥurvath Deragoth (Khirbet Darajat)
11. Tell Shoqeth (es-Saqati)
12. Abu Yiḥyeh
13. Raqiq (Abu Ruqeiq)
14. Abu Muweiliq
15. Bir Sheneq
16. Besor Bridge
17. Kissufim
18. Tell Re'im (Jemme)
19. Tell Mu'rabi
20. Abu Hureira
21. Revivim
22. Khirbet es-Suweidani
23. Abu Jeradi
24. Mamshit (Kurnub)
25. Naqb Sahli
26. el-Mughar
27. Gezer
28. Theomim (et-Tawamin)
29. 'Irq el-Ahmar
30. Umm Qal'a
31. Umm Qatafa
32. Teleilat Ghassul
33. Tel Aviv
34. Benei Beraq
35. Hadera
36. Punon in Transjordan

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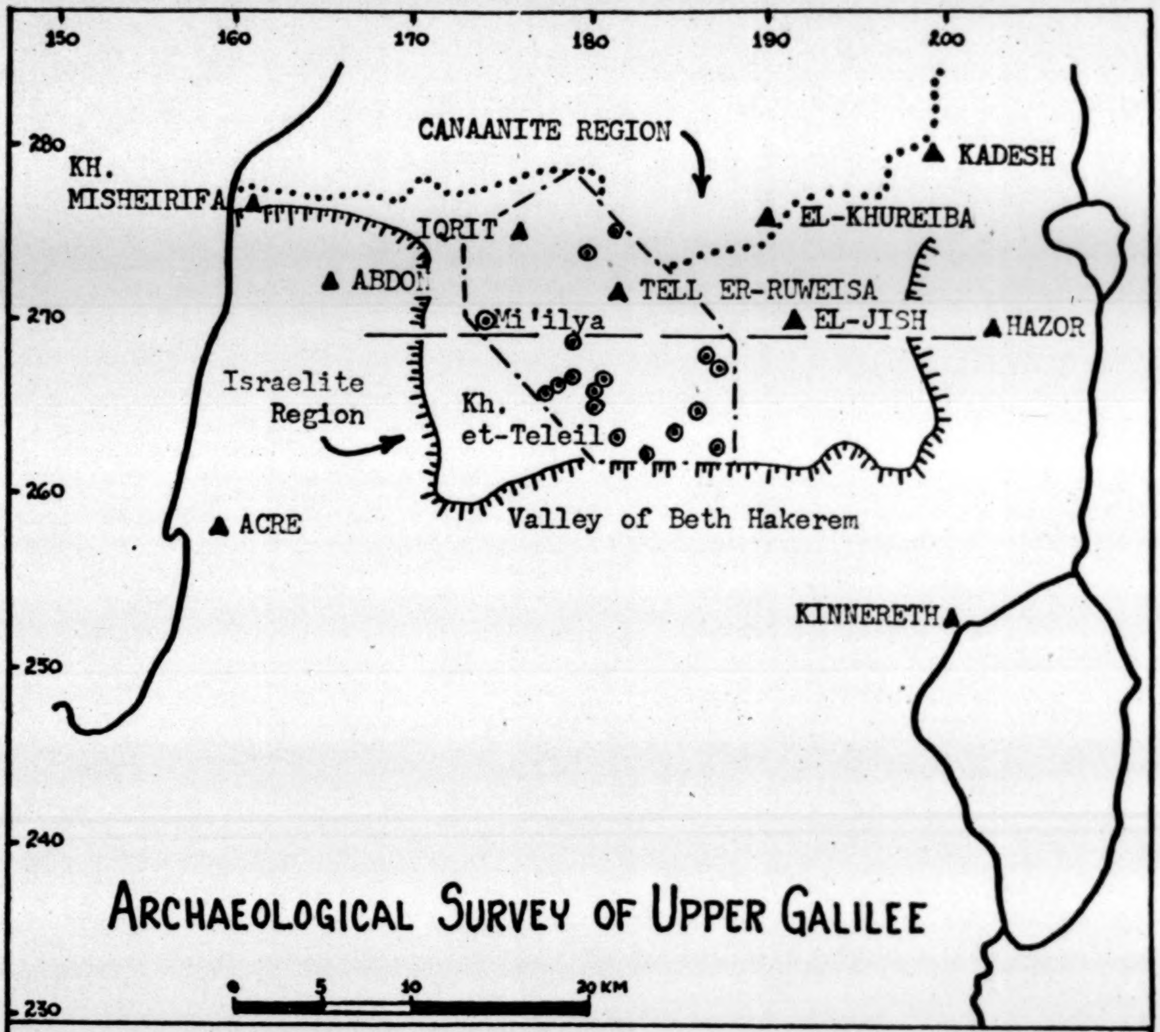
* J. Perrot, "The Excavations at Tell Abu Matar, near Beersheba." *I.E.J.*, Vol. 5 (1955) pp. 167-189.


150
160
170
180
190
200
280
270
260
250
240
230
CANAANITE REGION
KADESH
KH. MISHEIRIFA
EL-KHUREIBA
IQRIT
ABDON
TELL ER-RUWEISA
Mi'ilya
EL-JISH
HAZOR
Israelite Region
Kh. et-Teleil
Valley of Beth Hakerem
ACRE
KINNERETH
0
5
10
20 KM

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF UPPER GALILEE

LEGEND :

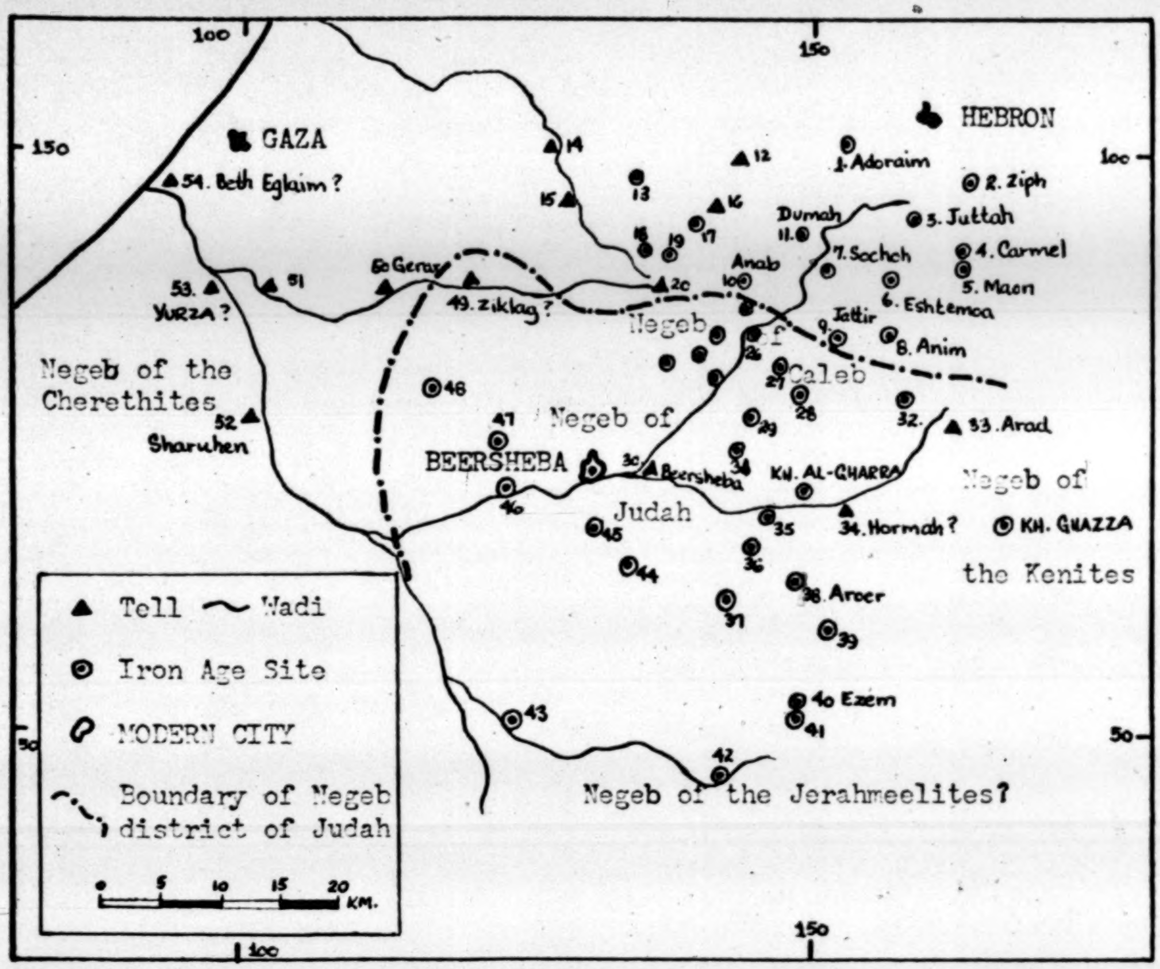
Canaanite Sites ▲ Israelite Sites ◉

Area Surveyed Systematically — · — · —

Boundary of Mountainous Area ┬┬┬┬┬┬┬┬┬

Modern Political Boundary • • • • • • • • • • • •

Y. Aharoni, "Problems of the Israelite Conquest in the Light of Archaeological Discoveries." Antiquity and Survival II (1957) no. 2-3, pp. 131-150.


100
150
GAZA
HEBRON
150
100
54. Beth Eglaim ?
14
15
13
12
16
1. Adoraim
2. Ziph
3. Juttah
4. Carmel
5. Maon
Dumah
11.
17
18
19
7. Sochoh
Anab
10
20
6. Eshtemoa
Jattir
9
8. Anim
60 Gerar
51
53.
YURZA ?
49. Ziklag ?
Negeb of Caleb
Negeb of the Cherethites
52
Sharuhen
46
47
Negeb of Judah
BEERSHEBA
30
Beersheba
27
28
29
32.
33. Arad
31
KH. AL-GHARRA
Negeb of the Kenites
46
45
35
34. Hormah ?
KH. GHAZZA
44
36
37
38. Aroer
39
40 Ezem
41
43
42
50
50
Negeb of the Jerahmeelites ?
Tell
Wadi
Iron Age Site
MODERN CITY
Boundary of Negeb district of Judah
0
5
10
15
20
KM.
100
150

The Negeb District of the Kingdom of Judah (Y. Aharoni, "The Negeb of Judah". I.E.J., Vol. 8 (1958) pp. 26-38.)

Iron Age Sites:

1. Dûrâ
2. Kh. Zîf
3. Yaṭṭa
4. Kh. al-Karmil
5. Kh. Ma'în
6. as-Samû'
7. Kh. Shuweika
8. Kh. Ghuweina at-Taḥta
9. Kh. 'Attîr
10. Kh. 'Anâb al-Kabîra
11. kh. Dûma
12. Tell 'Eiṭûn
13. Tell Umm Kalkha
14. Tell an-Najîla
15. Tell al-Muleiḥa

Iron Age Sites (Continued):

16. Tell Beit Mirsim
17. Unnamed ruin
18. Kh. Mujeidilât
19. Kh. at-Tell
20. Tell al-Khuweilifa
21. Kh. Umm Deimina
22. Kh. ash-Shamsânîyât
23. Kh. al-Ajârima
24. Kh. Laqîya
25. Tell es-Saqâṭî
26. Kh. Tatrît
27. Kh. Salanṭaḥ
28. Kh. al-Buṭm
29. Kh. Ḥaurâ
30. Tell as-Saba'
31. Khureibat al-Waṭan
32. Kh. ad-Darajât
33. Tell 'Urâd
34. Tell al-Milḥ
35. Kh. al Mishâsh
36. Kh. al-Madhbaḥ
37. Kh. Abû Tulûl
38. Kh. 'Ar'ara
39. Innamed ruin
40. Harabat al-A'ṣam
41. Kh. Zuweirita
42. Bîr Rakhma
43. Revivim
44. Unnamed ruin
45. Râs Hablein
46. al-Ḥadhîra
47. Kh. aṣ-Ṣûfî
48. Tell al-'Useifar
49. Tell ash-Sharî'a
50. Tell Abû Hureira
51. Tell al-Maghribî
52. Tell al-Fâri'a
53. Tell Jammâ
54. Tell al-'Ajjûl